ANTI-CAVALIERISME,

OR,

TRVTH PLEADING

AS WELL THE NECESSITY,

As the Lawfulneſſe of this preſent VVarre,
for the ſuppreſsing of that Butcherly
brood of Cavaliering Incendiaries, who are
now hammering England, to make an
IRELAND OF IT:

WHEREIN

ALL THE MATERIALL
Objections againſt the lawfulneſſe of this under-taking, are fully cleared and anſwered,

And all men that either love God, Themſelves, or Good men, exhorted to contribute all maner of aſſiſtance hereunto.

BY JO: GOODWIN.

Be not afraid of them: Remember the great Lord and fearefull, and fight for your Brethren, your Sons, and your Daughters, your Wives, and your Houſes. Nehem. 4. 14.

All that take the Sword, ſhall periſh with the Sword. Mat. 26. 52.

Det Rex Legi, quod Lex Regi, *i.* Imperium ac poteſtatem.

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ANTI-CAVALIERISME,

OR,

WITH PLEADING

AS WELL THE NECESSITY,

As the Lawfulneſſe of this preſent Warre,

For the ſuppreſſing of that Butcherly

Band of Cavaliering Incendiaries, who are

now Hammering England, to make an

WHEREIN

ALL THE MATERIALL

Objections againſt the Lawfulneſſe of this warfare,

ſuch, are fully cleared and anſwered,

That all pious thoſe either love God, Themſelves, or

their poſterity, ſtand obliged to conſpire to all manner of aſſiſtance hereunto.

93-8015

BY JOHN GOODWIN.

ANTICAVALIERISME,

OR,

TRUTH PLEADING AS WELL The Lawfulneſſe, as the Neceſsity of this *PRESENT WAR.*

THAT which ſome in the Goſpell ſpake in great amazement, by way of glorifying God, upon occaſion of an unexpected breaking out of his goodneſſe and power, in a miraculous cure, *It was never ſeen after ſuch a faſhion (Mar.* 2. 12.) may now be uttered by the Inhabitants of this Kingdome, with aſtoniſhment, to the everlaſting ſhame and infamy of men; upon occaſion of the late breaking out of that fire of rage and cruelty, which yet burneth in the midſt of the bowels of it, and threatens to conſume the very foundations thereof, except it bee ſeaſonably quenched by a gracious raine from on High. And as all that ſaw that inhumane butchering and quartering out into pieces of the *Levites* wife by her owne husband, cryed out, and ſaid, *There was no ſuch thing done or ſeen, ſince the time that the Children of Iſrael came up out of the Land of Ægypt, untill that day*, Judg. 19. 30. So doubtleſſe whoſoever ſhall conſider what bloody and horrid intendments and attempts againſt this Nation, have paſſed the hearts and hands of ſome of her owne Children, may truly ſay, There hath no ſuch thing been done or ſeen in the Land, ſince God firſt cauſed men to live on the face of it.

What ſhall we thinke of that Legion of Devils (I had almoſt called them) who now poſſeſſe the Land, and after the manner of Devils indeed, ſeeke all to rent and teare it in pieces; I mean that Colluvies, that heape, that gathering together of the ſcum, and droſſe, and garbage of the Land, that moſt accurſed confederacy, made up of *Gebal*, and *Ammon*, and *Amaleck*, *Philiſtims with the Inhabitants of Tyre*, of Jeſuites and Papiſts, and Atheiſts, of ſtigmaticall and infamous perſons in all kindes, with that bloody and butcherly Generation, commonly knowne by the name of Cavalieres? Have they not through ſome blacke art or other gotten the chiefe treaſure of the Land, the King, into their poſſeſſion, ſetting him ſtill in the Front of all their deſperate deſignes; which are theſe, and their fellowes: 1. To pull thoſe Stars out of the Firmament of the Land, to diſſolve and ruine that Aſſembly, which is by interpretation, or repreſentation (which you will) the whole Nation. 2. When they have opened this doore of hope unto themſelves, to turne the Lawes, and preſent frame of Government upſide downe. 3. To make havock and deſolation, to roote out the Generation of the Saints ruſh and branch, men and women, young and olde fearing God, out of the Land. 4. To make rapine and ſpoile of all the goods and poſſeſſions, at leaſt of all thoſe that withſtand them, and are not brethren

in iniquity with them. 5. To build up the Walls of *Jericho*, to put *Lucifer* againe into heaven, I meane, to advance the tyrannicall Thrones of the Hierarchie to their former heighth, or higher, if they know how? 6. By their authority and power to excommunicate and cast out all the pure and precious Ordinances of God out of his House, and to supply this defect with Antichristian, and spurious institutions. 7. To spread that Veile, or covering of Antichristian darkneſſe againe over the face of the Land, which God by a moſt gracious hand of providence had rent and taken off many yeares ſince; to leaven the whole lumpe of the Land, the ſecond time, with the foure leaven of Romiſh errour and ſuperſtition. 8. And laſtly, as is much to be feared, when they have ſerved their turnes with, and upon the King, and uſed him as an Engine to get all the ſtones together for their building, then to make rubbidge of him, as if they had honoured him ſufficiently, to cauſe ſuch ſacred deſignes as theſe to paſſe through his hands, and made him inſtrumentall, or any wayes acceſſory in ſuch Angelicall atchievements. Doe wee thinke that the light of the knowledge of God ſhines in the hearts and conſciences of theſe men? Have theſe men the minde of Chriſt amongſt them? Doe they know who is the Lord? Or doe they not thinke rather, that *Baal*, or *Belial* is he? Have all the workers of iniquity (ſaith *David*) no knowledge, that they eat up my people as they eat bread? *Pſal.*14.4. *i. e.* That they injure, vexe, and conſume them with no more remorſe, regret, or touch of conſcience, then they eate and drinke to preſerve their naturall lives: as if ſuch men as theſe, the people of God, were made for the ſame end and purpoſe to them, that bread is, *viz.* to bee eaten up and devoured by them. Have they no knowledge, (ſaith the Prophet) that they dare attempt ſuch a thing as this? Implying (as it ſhould ſeeme) that to vexe, moleſt, perſecute, and deſtroy the people of God, argues the moſt profound ignorance, and thickeſt darkneſſe in the mindes and underſtandings of men, that can likely be found there; and that the weakeſt impreſſions or glimmerings of any true light of knowledge, would keepe men from daſhing their foote againſt this ſtone howſoever. If men had but as much knowledge of God, as *Pilates* wife had in a dreame, they would take heed of having any thing to doe with juſt men. And theſe things (ſaith our Saviour to his Diſciples concerning thoſe that ſhould kill them, and thinke they did God ſervice therein) theſe things (ſaith he) they ſhall doe unto you, becauſe they have not knowne the Father, nor me, *John* 16. 3. If men had the leaſt degree of the true knowledge of God in Chriſt, they muſt needs have ſome knowledge of his People and Children alſo: and if they know theſe, this knowledge would be as a hooke in their Noſe, or a bridle in their Lips, to keep them from falling foule upon them, as the knowledge of Chriſt the Lord of glory, would have kept the Princes of this world from crucifying him, had it been in them.

And ſince we are fallen upon the mention of thoſe men who are ready in a poſture of hatred, and malice, and revenge, with other preparations anſwerable hereunto, to fall upon us, and our lives and liberties, both ſpirituall and civill, upon our Eſtates, our Goſpell and Religion, and all that is, or ought to be deare or precious unto us; and in our miſeries and ruines, to render our poſterities more miſerable then we, and have advanced their deſigne this way to that maturity and heighth, which we all know and tremble to thinke of: Give me leave in that which remaines, to excite and ſtir you up, from the greateſt to the leaſt, both young and olde, rich and poore, men and women, to quit your ſelves like men, yea, and (if it be poſſible) above the line of men, in this great exigency and ſtreſſe of imminent danger that hangs over your heads, and threatens you every houre. Oh let it be as an abomination unto us, as the very ſhaddow of death to every man, woman, and childe of us, not to be active, not to lie out and ſtraine our ſelves to the utmoſt of our ſtrength and power in every kinde, as far as the Law of God and nature will ſuffer us, to reſiſt that high hand of iniquity and blood that is ſtretched out againſt

against us; to make our lives, and our liberties, and our Religion good against that accursed Generation that now magnifieth themselves, to make a prey and spoile of them, to make havock and desolation of them all at once, if the Lord shall yet please to deliver us out of their hands. Let not our Lives, our Liberties, our Estates, be at all precious or deare unto us in this behalfe, to expose them, be it unto the greateſt danger, to prevent the certaine and most unquestionable ruine of them otherwise; let us resolve to put all in the hands of God, to prevent the falling of all, or any thing, into the hands of these men. There is neither man nor woman of us, neither young nor old, but hath somewhat or other, more or lesse, a Mite or two at least to cast into the Treasury of the Publike safetie. Men that have strength of body for the War, and fingers that know how to fight, let them to the Battle, and not feare to looke the enemy in the face. Men and women that have onely Purses and Estates, let them turne them into men and swords for the Battle. Men that have heads, but want armes, and hands for outward execution, let these study and contrive methods and wayes of proceedings: Head-work is every whit as necessary in such a time and exigent, as hand-worke is. They that have neither hands, nor heads, nor Estates, let them finde hearts to keepe the Mountaine of God, to pray the enemies downe, and the Armies of the Lord up: Let them finde tongues to whet up the courage and resolutions of others. This is a service wherein women also may quit themselves like men, whose prayers commonly are as masculine, and doe as great and severe execution, as the prayers of men. As for little Children that know not the right hand from the left, and so are uncapable of exhortation, or putting on this way by their weaknesse and innocency (innocency I meane, as concerning the enemies, and giving them the least cause or colour of their bloody intendments, as likewise in respect of the crying sins, and horrid provocations of other men) they doe every whit as much towards the furtherance of the service, as men doe by their strength, by their wisdome, by their estates, or otherwise; as wee see in the case of GODS sparing *Niniveh*. The fixscore thousand Children that knew not their right hand from the left, were the great intercessors, and chiefe mediators in the behalfe of the City with him. Yea, the bruit beasts themselves, the Cattell, their case and condition working upon the goodnesse and graciousnesse of GOD, were contributors too in their nature towards this service: As is to be seen in the last clause of the place cited from the Prophet *Jonah*. *And should not I spare Niniveh, &c. ----- and also much Cattell.* Therefore now I beseech you that are capable of the great evils and dangers that threaten you, and are even at your doore, be not you wanting and backward in any thing that is in your hand to doe, if it be possible, and as far as in you lyeth, redeeme your lives with your lives, your estates with your estates, your Religion with your Religion, out of the hands of those men, set them all to worke for their owne maintenance & preservation: yea if you know how to create more strength then you have, or to improve your selves seventy times seven fold above the proportion of any your present abilities, I beseech you do it; at least *be willing* (as the Apostle beares the *Corinthians* witnesse they were in a case not altogether unlike) *above that you are able*, that so you may be sure to give out your selves to the utmost of your ability, the more freely.

Give me leave to set an edge upon you, to quicken and encourage you, to strengthen your hand to the worke, by the tender onely of two motives, or considerations unto you.

1. Consider that the cause, wherein you are desired and exhorted to appeare, and to engage your selves to the utmost, is like unto the Law of God it selfe in those excellent qualifications of it: it is just, and holy, and good: there is nothing in it that should make you ashamed either before God, or justly-judging men, nothing that needs make you tender, or holding off in point of conscience. You are to stand up in the defence of your Lives, your Liberties, your Estates,

your Houses, your Wives, your Children, your Brethren, and that not of this Nation only, but of those two other Nations likewise united under the same government with this, the defence of those Religious and faithfull Governours, that Honourable Assembly of Parliament, whose power and priviledges you stand bound by your solemn Vow and Protestation unto God, (besides many bands of conscience otherwise) to defend and maintaine with your lives, power, and estates. Yea, in defence of his Majesties royall person, honour, and estate; all which are now in eminent danger to suffer by that accursed retinue of vile persons that are gathered about him, as Ivie about an Oake, which never suffers it to thrive or prosper, till it be torne off from it. This, men that have their eyes open, may easily see and discerne; though others make a mock and a scorne of such an assertion, as ridiculous: But so did *Lots* sons in Sodome, by that saying of his unto them, *That the Lord would destroy the place and City where they were, Gen.* 19. 14. which yet was a serious and solemne truth: Yea, and further, you are exhorted to stand up in defence of the true Protestant Religion, for the name and honour of your God, your Ordinances, and (which ought to be of very deare and precious consideration to you) for the safe conveyance of that great treasure of the Gospell over unto your posterities that are yet unborne. Here is nothing in all this but what the manifest Law of God, and the common light of nature, not only warranteth and alloweth in all men, but even leadeth, perswadeth, yea, urgeth and presseth them unto. Now how should not the goodnesse, equity, and righteousnesse of the cause be as precious seed, out of which a generation of sons and daughters shall be raised up unto it? Yea, and be spirit and life to the undertakers thereof? And encouragement unto them, to plead it with the highest hand of meanes and endeavours they are able to lift up? When there is a cause that hath the image and superscription of God upon it, so full and lively as this hath, is it not pitty it should want Oratours to plead it, that it should suffer and fall to the ground, and none bee found to take it up?

Indeed if there were any occasion to make a stand in matter of conscience, if there were any thing doubtfull in the cause recommended to you, any thing to detaine your judgements and consciences in suspence, whether it were lawfull for you or no, to appeare in it, there were just cause to spare and to forbeare you, at least for a time, till you should be fully satisfied. But now the righteousnesse hereof being as cleare as the light, or as the Sunne at noone day, why tarry you? why are you not up in your might before this, to maintaine it to the uttermost?

Yea, but say the Rabbies and great disputers that stand by your enemies and strengthen their hand that they cannot depart from their wickednesse, that cover, but it is with the covering of the flesh, and of the spirit of the world, not with the covering of the Spirit of the Lord: It is not lawfull (say these men) for you to oppose them, nor to contend any wayes by force against them, because by opposing them, you resist the King the Lords anointed, whom God commands should be obeyed and submitted unto. If you conceive him to be your adversary, yet you ought to oppose him, (or rather the adverse disposition of his against you) only with prayers and teares, and supplications unto God for him, and with petitory and humble addresments unto himselfe, but to make no outward resistance at all.

To this I answer,

1. By way of concession that the King is to bee obeyed, and that by the expresse commandement of God. *Submit your selves to every Ordinance of man for the Lords sake, whether it bee unto the King, as supreame, or unto Governours, as unto them that are sent by him for the punishment of evill doers, &c.* 1 *Pet.* 2. 13. Here is submission to the King required in expresse termes, and they that yeeld not the submission here required, resist the Ordinance of God (as the Apostle *Paul*

Paul ſpeakes, *Rom.* 13.) and by ſuch reſiſtance ſhall receive to themſelves (*viz.* without repentance) κρίμα judgement, or condemnation: God will ſeverely judge or puuiſh them for this reſiſtance. And for my part, I from my ſoule could wiſh and deſire that the ſad diſtractions and conteſtations betweene the two oppoſing parties in the Land, might come to a comprimiſe, and be iſſued and ended upon this point: That party that makes moſt conſcience of keeping that Commandement of God which requires ſubmiſſion and obedience unto Kings, to be ſubmitted unto by the other; and that to yeeld, and ſit downe, which is moſt defective this way, and in whom leſſe conſcience of ſuch obedience appeareth. Only two things I deſire may be taken notice of from this Scripture where ſubmiſſion to Kings is commanded: Firſt, that a King or Kingly Government, is ἀνθρωπίνη κτίσις an ordinance of man, or an humane creation (as the Originall properly ſignifieth) which yet we know is no leſſe generally then impudently, and in the face of expreſſe Scripture to the contrary, denyed by the Divinity and learning of the malignant faction, who by ſwelling the Prerogative of Kings to a monſtrous & moſt unnaturall proportion, as if they had a minde to make it crack before they had done, have conſulted all maner of miſeires and calamities to the world, as well to Kings themſelves, as to their People. *Submit to every Ordinance of man* (ſaith *Peter*) *for the Lords ſake, whether it be unto the King, &c.* Therefore he ſuppoſeth the King, or Kingly Government to be the Ordinance, or creation, or creature of man. And it is evident that ſo he is; for there were Kings over the heathen Nations, with the forme of whoſe government God did no wayes intermeddle by way of any command or appointment concerning it, long before there was any King over * Iſrael. Nor was it the order or command of God, that there ſhould be any King over Iſraell, but he was highly offended with the People for deſiring it. *Is it not now Wheat harveſt?* (ſaith *Samuel* to the People) *I will call upon the Lord, and he ſhall ſend thunder, and raine, that you may perceive and ſee, how that your wickedneſſe is great, which ye have done in the ſight of the Lord in asking you a King.* And though he condeſcended in a paſſive way, that they ſhould have a King as they deſired, yet as he tells them by the Prophet *Hoſea, He gave them a King in his wrath,* and bid them in effect take him at their perils, if they would needs have him, hee ſhould deale but hardly by them. *He would take their ſons, and daughters, and make them ſervile to him,* as you have it, 1 *Sam.* 8. 11. It is true, in this ſenſe a King, or Kingly power and government may be ſaid to be from God. Firſt, In a generall or indefinite conſideration, as it is a government, not ſimply, or in it ſelfe unlawfull: For it is the will and appointment of God, that there ſhould be ſome government or other in every ſociety of men, yet not any government neither, not any that is unjuſt, unreaſonable, or tyrannicall: And in this ſenſe all formes of government that are lawfull and juſt, whether they bee ſimple, as the three commonly knowne by the names of Monarchy, Ariſtocracy, Democracy; or whether they be mixt, having ſomewhat of two, or of all theſe ſimples in them, are equally or indifferently from God: not any one of them determinately, or with excluſion of the reſt. For ſuppoſe all Nations and Societies of men in the world, from the foundations thereof untill now, ſhould have ſet up and exerciſed only one and the ſame forme of government amongſt them, as *viz.* That which wee call Ariſtocraticall (like that in the Low-countryes, by ſome choſen amongſt them, whom they call States) ſo that neither the Monarchicall, or Kingly Government, nor yet the Democraticall, nor any other government whatſoever had beene ever practiſed in the world untill this day, we muſt not thinke that the world had herein ſinned, in not uſing any other, no nor yet neglected any Ordinance of God. Becauſe it is no ordinance or appointment of God that any particular Nation or Society of men, ſhould have either this or that ſpeciall forme of Government amongſt them; but onely that they ſhould have ſome kinde of Government which

* See Gen. 14.22,23.

which is just and lawfull. Therefore Kingly Government is no Ordinance of God in this sense, *viz.* as imposed upon any Nation or People by way of duty or precept to use and set up amongst them. But being set up in any people, it is warranted, and countenanced by God as lawfull, and obedience and subjection streightly enjoyned thereunto, and therefore the Apostles expression, *Rom.* 13. 1. is very expresse and punctuall this way. *Let every soule be subject unto the higher powers, for there is no power* (*i.* no just and lawfull forme of government) *but is from God,* the powers that are, are ordained (or rather ordered τεταγμέναι) of God. The powers that are: Why doth he say the powers that are, are ordained, or ordered by God? Doubtlesse to shew, that there are some powers or formes of government, *in actu signato,* (as the Schoole-men speak) that is, in respect of their species or kinde, which are not *in actu exercito,* actually exercised or taken up, nor neede they be taken up by any State or People in the world. But for those that are, *i.* that are *de facto* established, and set up by any People among themselves, (speaking onely of those that are lawfull) these (saith hee) are ordained, or rather ordered by God, *i.* God by speciall instinct and worke of Providence (q) inclines the hearts of severall Nations, some to imbrace and fall upon one, and some upon another, some upon that which is Monarchicall, or Kingly, others upon that which is Aristocraticall, some upon that which is Democraticall, &c. and withall commands, that that which every Nation or People chooseth for it selfe, should be obeyed and submitted unto by those that have chosen it, and live under it, so long as it continueth: For the time is comming, when Christ will put downe all rule, and all authority, and power. And this is another sense wherein Kings or Kingly Government may be said to be from God, or to be the Ordinance of God, *viz.* because where it is established and set up, hee had a speciall hand in ordering and guiding the hearts of the People to chose it, before others, and withall commands it to be obeyed, as a Government that is lawfull and authorised by him, not as commanded and enioyned by him.

Thus you have the first thing made plaine to you, which was observed from the place in *Peter,* which was, that Kingly power or authority is directly and properly the creation or ordinance of man, though there be that in it also, which in a sense may give it the denomination of an Ordinance of God; *viz.* 1. As warranted or countenanced by him. 2. As ordered and taken up by those Nations, who have subjected themselves unto it, by the speciall disposall and worke of his providence.

The second thing I desire you would take notice of from the same Scripture, is this, that subordinate Authority, and inferior Magistracy and power is as much the Ordinance of God, as Soveraignty and supreme Authority it selfe is: and that God by one and the same command, requires us to submit our selves to inferiour Magistrates or Governours, as well as hee doth to Kings themselves. Reade the passage againe, *Therefore submit your selves to all manner of Ordinances of man, whether, &c.* So that it is a sinne of the same nature, and renders a man obnoxious to the same danger or displeasure from God, to be fouud in disobedience to subordinate Rulers under the King, as to the King himselfe. But this for answer to the Objection in the first place, by way of concession or grant, That the King doubtlesse is to be obeyed.

But secondly, by way of exception I answer further, that though the King be to be obeyed and submitted unto, yet this obedience was never intended by God to be universall, but with limitation, *viz.* In such commands wherein a mans obedience to the King, should not be found desobedience against God: for in these cases, That of the Apostles *Peter* and *John* to the Rulers, Elders, and chiefe Priests must take place, *Acts.* 4. 19. *Whether it be right in the sight of God to obey you, rather than God, judge yee.* The debt of obedience to God must always be paid, whosoever looseth

loseth by the hand: Though the truth is, that there is no creature, King nor other, that can lose any thing due to him, by any mans obedience unto God. The Apostles were so confident of the righteousnesse of their cause in disobeying their Rulers in that, wherein they obeyed God, that they feared not to make their Adversaries themselves their Judges therein: *Iudge yee.* If a King should command me not to pray for the generall good, or peace of the Church or State where I live, or to forbeare the doing of any thing, which I conceive I am bound in conscience unto God to doe for the publique good, I am not in this case any whit more bound to obey the Kings command, then the Apostle *Peter* and *Iohn* were to obey the command of the Rulers and Elders who charged them to give over preaching the Gospell, or then *Shadracke, Meshach*, and *Abednego* were, to worship the Golden Image, because *Nebuchadnezzar* commanded it. This limitation is plainly enough expressed in that very Scripture, wherein we heard obedience unto Kings commanded. 1 *Pet.* 2. 13. *Submit your selves* (saith the Apostle) *to every Ordinance of man, for the Lords Sake.* If we ought to submit for the *Lords Sake.* i. Either for that love we beare to him, or out of conscience of that obedience which we owe unto him, we ought not to submit in any thing whereby God may be dishonoured or disobeyed. It is senseless to thinke, that any thing can, or ought to be done for the Lords Sake, which cannot be done but to his dishonour, or (which is the same) with disobedience to him.

Yea, but it will still be objected, though it be true, that Kings are not to be obeyed in any of those commands that are unlawfull, in an active way, we are not alwayes to doe what they would have us doe, nor to cease or forbeare the doing, of what they would have us forbeare; yet are they even in such cases to be obeyed passively: Men are to suffer patiently any punishment they desire to inflict upon them, for refusing any such obedience; or however, they are not forcibly to resist.

To these things likewise I answer, 1. That the unlawfull command of a King, may possibly be of that nature and condition, that a Subject cannot disobey it, but by a strong hand, and taking up of Armes, though not properly or directly against the King, yet against the commād of a King. In such a case, disobedience to Kings by a strong hand, and with forcible resistance, is not only lawfull, but even matter of duty and obedience unto God. For instance, A Christian hath solemnly vowed & protested before *God*, to defend the lives of his godly and faithfull Governours to the utmost of his power: or whether he hath made such a Vow and Protestation or no, it is not much materiall in this respect, because he stands bound in conscience otherwise, and by the Law of God, to doe it. Now suppose such a man cannot performe this Vow, or doe that which is his duty to doe otherwise therin, but by a strong hand, and taking up Armes; in this case, if a King commands such a man not to take up Armes in relation to such a defence, it is evident that this unlawfull command of a King cannot be disobeyed, but by taking up Armes against it. There are many other cases of the same consideration and rule with this.

2. I answer further, That it is one thing to offer violence to the person of a King, or Ruler, or to attempt the taking away of his life; another to secure a mans own life, or the life of another, whom we know to be innocent, and much more the publike safety, by strengthning a mans selfe to withstand the violent execution of any unjust command from a King, by those that have no right or lawfull authority at all, to doe any such execution upon us. As for offering violence to the person of a King, or attempting to take away his life, we leave the proofe of the lawfulnesse of this, to those profound disputers the Jesuits, who stand ingaged by the tenour of their professed Doctrine and practise, either to make good the lawfulnesse thereof, or else to leave themselves and their Religion an abhorring and hissing unto the world. As to us

who never travelled with any desires or thoughts that way, but abhor both mother and daughter, doctrin and practise together, we conceive it to be a just Prerogative of the Persons of Kings in what case soever, to be secure from the violence of men; and their lives to be as consecrated corne, meet to be reaped and gathered only by the hand of God himselfe. *Davids* conscience smote him, when he came but so neare the life of a King, as the cuting off of the lap of his garment.

But as concerning a forcible withstanding, or resistance making, against a violent execution of any unjust command from a King, attempted by those that have no rightfull or lawful authority to do such execution either upon us or others, yea though the King himselfe be at hand to second his instruments in the execution of such cōmands, we have sufficient warrant for the lawfulnesse hereof in the Scriptures themselves. When *Ahab* sent a Cavaleer (you may call him) a man of bloud, to take away the Prophet *Elisha's* head, as he sat in his house amongst the Elders, 2 *Ki.* 6. 32. did *Elisha* set open his doore for him, and sit stil til he took off his head, in obedience to the King? No, he bestirred himselfe for the safeguard of his life, and called upon others to stand by him, and assist him against that outrage and violence intended against him: yea and this without any brand or blemish of any rebellion or disobedience to the King; yea though he spake somewhat roundly and freely of the King himselfe. *See ye not* (saith he to the Elders that were with him) *how this son of a murtherer* (meaning no beggars, no lesse then *Ahab* himself, the King) *hath sent to take away mine head? Take heed when the Messenger commeth, and shut the doore, and handle him roughly* * *at the doore: Is not the sound of his Masters feet behind him?* Surely he that went thus far, for the safety of his life, when he was but in danger of being assaulted, would have gone further if occasion or necessity had been; and in case the Kings butcher had got in to him before the doore had been shut, if he had been able, and had had no other meanes to have saved his own head, but by taking away the others, there is little question to be made, but he would rather have taken, then given a head, in this case. So when *Saul* the King would needs have had *Ionathan* put to death, yea, and had bound himselfe with an oath or curse to have it so (yea and that twice over for failing) the people knowing that *Ionathan* had committed nothing worthy of death (though the King thought he had) but that contrarily, he had deserved well of the State, and had *mightily delivered Israel*, (as the words of the Text are) delivered him by a strong hand out of the hand of *Saul*. 1 *Sam.* 14. 45. Neither is there the least aspersion or imputation cast upon this People for this fact of theirs, as if they had been any wayes injurious or disobedient to their King. Nay it appeares by the sequell of the Story, that *Saul* himselfe, though a man not of the best disposition, when the *turbidum intervallum*, the fit of passion was over, took it no wayes amisse at the hands of the people, that they had resisted him, in that unreasonable and inconsiderate designe of his against *Jonathan*: but went on, and raigned peaceably over them. *David* in like manner, being unjustly persecuted by *Saul*, and those gracelesse and base flatterers that assisted him in that ungracious designe, and being in danger of his life by them, did he either sit still, to see whether God would in an extraordinary and miraculous way protect him or no? Or did he submit himselfe to *Sauls* mercy, and lay down his life at his feet? No, but on the contrary, he provided himselfe with weapons, the best that were to be had. 1 *Sam.* 21. 8, 9. And willingly entertained for the safeguard of life, and to make resistance against *Saul* and his party, al the help of men he could come by, making himself an head or Captaine over them, 1 *Sam.* 22. 2. And yet all this while *David* was but one single man, and that of a private and mean condition in comparison.

ולחצתם Et opprimetis, vel opprimite. Arias Mont. Comprimite Jun. & Trem.

And this (my Brethren) is the very case that is now before you, or if there be any difference in respect of a justifiablenesse in the one above the other, all the advantage, which certainly is very much, lies on your side, your scale is much the better weight. There are sonnes of *Belial* that

that are riſen up againſt you, full of a ſpirit of hatred and revenge againſt you who partly in plaine words, and without Parables, partly by their inſolent carriages and behaviours towards others of the ſame ſpirit and cauſe with you, threaten you with the utmoſt inſolencies they can execute upon you, and (in effect) to ſtretch the line of miſerable and wofull *Ireland* over you and your City, and whole Nation. Theſe either have, or pretend to have a Warrant or Commiſſion from the King to doe what they doe, to make prey and ſpoile of you, your lives, and liberties, and all that you have; juſt as the Meſſenger had from *Ahab*, that was ſent to take away the Prophets head (as you heard) or as thoſe had from *Saul*, that went to lay hold of *Ionathan* to put him to death. Now then the queſtion is, whether it be lawfull for you to ſtand upon your guard in this caſe, and to ſeeke the preſervation of your lives, and of thoſe that belong unto you, wives, and little ones, &c. and if there be no other likely meanes for your ſafety, to deſtroy the lives of thoſe that ſeeke to deſtroy yours; whether the command of the King (ſuppoſe ſuch a thing were, which yet I much queſtion) to wicked inſtruments to take away your lives, or the lives of thoſe whom you are bound, by Oath or otherwiſe to protect; whether (I ſay) ſuch a command ought more to prevaile with you to ſit ſtill and ſuffer the deſtroyer to execute his Commiſſion upon you, to take away your lives, or the command of God and nature which lies upon you to defend your lives, and the lives of ſuch others, as we ſpake of, when they are aſſaulted, or in danger of aſſault? This fairely and unpartially is the State of the preſent queſtion. The great Prophet *Eliſha* (as we heard) and the people of *Iſrael* under *Saul*, and the man according to Gods own heart, reſolved the queſtion clearly enough by their practiſe.

If it be here objected and ſaid, it is true, ſuch acts as you have related were indeed done by theſe men: but, *Quo jure*, whether they did well, or lawfully in ſo doing, is yet in queſtion: An act done by a good man, fearing God, is not therefore good, or lawfully done, becauſe ſuch a man doth it: The ancient Fathers were generally Polygamiſts; yet the plenty of their practiſe is but a defective proofe of the lawfulneſſe of Polygamy. In like manner, the actions mentioned, having no teſtimony of approbation from the Scriptures, may very poſſibly be workes of darkneſſe, though done by children of light; yea, though there be no expreſſe brand of unlawfulneſſe ſet upon them by God: for Polygamy it ſelfe hath this negatiue teſtimony of its innocency.

To this I anſwer, firſt in generall: That though the goodneſſe and holineſſe of the perſon be not ſufficient to authorize an act for lawfull, yet whilſt the unlawfulneſſe of it be clearly evicted by a contrariety in it to ſome command of God, it is a ſtrong preſumption, that an act performed by ſuch a perſon, is lawfull: To the inſtance of Polygamy in the Fathers: I anſwer, that it was apparently a breach of the ſeventh Commandement, and contrary to the firſt inſtitution of marriage by God; the tenour whereof, according to our Saviours own extract out of the ancient Record, runs thus, *Mat.* 19. 5. *And they twaine* (not they three, or they foure, or more) *ſhall be one fleſh.* And beſides, it is plainly branded and condemned by the Spirit of God, as ſinfull, *Mal.* 2. 14, 15. as the generall vote of interpreters upon this place carieth it. But there is not the leaſt intimation given throughout the whole Scriptures, of any thing ſinfull or diſpleaſing unto God, in what either *Eliſha*, or the people, or *David* did, in the particulars mentioned:

Thoſe acts of *Solomon*, commanding *Joab* and *Shimei* to be put to death, without any tryall or due proceſſe of Law againſt them, 1 *Kin*: 2. and ſo that of *David*, giving away *Mephiboſheths* eſtate to *Ziba*, onely upon a diſpleaſure conceived againſt him, with ſome others of other Kings of *Iudah*, of like conſideration, ſmelling too ranke of prerogative Oyle, are much more queſtionable in point of lawfulneſſe, and of farre more difficult reconciliation

with principles of reason and equity, and with the Law of God it selfe then those other. But,

2. To the particular I answer. First for the fact of the Prophet *Elisha*, calling out to those that were with him, to lay hands upon him that came armed with the Kings authority and command, to take away his head, and to shut the doore against him; that in this he did nothing but what was pleasing unto God, appeares from the circumstance of time, and that posture of spirit, wherein the Prophet thus contended for his head against him that would needs have had it from him. He was now full of the Spirit of God, and of prophecy: and was in that very instant, wherein his head should have been taken from him, ready to cry out as a woman in travaile, and to be delivered of that gracious message, which immediatly followes in the beginning of the succeeding Chapter. Now that so holy a man, and so great a Prophet, should in that very point and instant of time, wherein he was full of the Spirit of God, and ready to deliver a message from him of that high importance and unexpected grace to his people, fall into the foule sin of rebellion against his lawfull King, is doubtlesse an incredibility of the first magnitude.

Secondly, the Elders or States-men of the Kingdome, who were present, complyed with him in his motion, and assisted him in his opposition against the Kings messenger, who came for his head; laid hands upon him, and suffered him not to enter: which appeares from hence, because the Prophets head stood still upon his shoulders. And this is yet a further confirmation of the lawfulnesse of that resistance, which he made, because it is unreasonable to think, that persons of that quality, and who cannot be conceived but to have understood themselves sufficiently in a businesse of that nature, being the peeres or chiefe officers of the Kingdome, should have involved themselves in the danger and guilt of rebellion, against the King: which (doubtlesse) they had done had that act of the Prophet, whereof they were abettors, had any streine or touch of Rebellion in it.

Thirdly, and lastly, the King himselfe (*it seems*) comming very shortly after into the place where the Prophet and Elders were, finding the execution, which in hot bloud he had commanded, not done, the heate of his passion being somewhat over and abated, sate down amongst them, and never so much as reproved either Prophet or Elders, for making the resistance they did to his messenger: which it is like he would have done, and that upon high termes, had he conceived either the one or the other to have been within the verge of a Rebellion; or any other injury or indignity offered either to his person, or to his Crowne and dignity.

Againe secondly for the people who delivered *Ionathan* out of the hand of *Saul*, there is no colour to conceive any thing unlawfull or unjustifiable therin. Evident it is that themselves looked upon this fact before it was done, not onely as a thing lawfull for them to doe, but as matter of duty, and that which in conscience they were bound to doe. That expression of theirs implies as much: *Shall Jonathan die, who hath so mightily delivered Israel? God forbid.* (1 Sam. 14. 45.) *As the Lord liveth there shall not one haire of his head fall to the ground.* They conceived, that it had beene a sinne of a very high nature in them, if they should not have appeared for his rescue and deliverance, whom they not only knew to be innocent, and to have done nothing worthy of death, but also *to have wrought with God* for their deliverance. Nor is it easie to conceive what other ground or motive should have induced this people to run the hazard of the Kings displeasure in *Ionathans* protection, then conscience only: though its true, there is no intimation given of any complaint made, nor of any offence conceived by *Saul* against the people for this fact of theirs, which is another argument of the lawfulnesse thereof, yea and of the unprejudicialnesse or in-offensivenesse of it to *Sauls* kingly Throane and dignity, considering how tender and jealous *Saul* was of these, and how impatient of the

the least touch (yea though but imaginary onely) in them, as appeares in the sequell of his History, especially by his violent persecution of *David*, upon very light and loose grounds of suspition this way.

Lastly, concerning *Davids* gathering a strength of men and armes to him, whereby to make resistance against *Saul*, or rather against that bloudy association which conspired with him in a most unjust way, to take away his life; evident it is,

1. That *David*, all the time of this his unjust persecution by *Saul* and his complices, being still in eminent danger of his life, was more soft and tender conscienced then ordinary, and more afraid of sinning against God; yea and prayed both more frequently and more fervently unto God to be preserved from sinne, then at other times; as appeares by many Psalmes composed by him, during this his triall. Now it is a thing altogether incredible, *that a man* otherwise *according to Gods owne Heart*, under the best and softest frame of spirit and conscience, that ever hee liv'd in, and whilst hee made it his earnest prayer unto God daily to be kept from sinne, should so fouly miscarry, as to live in the sin of Rebellion against his lawfull King without repentance.

2. That he respected and honoured *Saul* very highly, and was very tender of doing him the least harme. It is said, *that his heart smote him, because he had cut off but the lap or skirt of his garment*, 1 *Sam.* 24. 5. Using moreover these words to his servants, whose fingers itch'd to have made sure worke with *Saul*; *The Lord forbid that I should doe this thing to my master the Lords annointed, to stretch forth mine hand against him, seeing he is the anoynted of the Lord*, vers. 6. Therefore certainly *David* in defending himselfe against *Sauls* Cavaleers with Armes and Men, neither offended God, nor wronged *Saul* himselfe in the least measure, Yea,

3. *Saul* himselfe overcome with this expression of *Davids* love and faithfulnesse unto him; acknowledged his innocency, and the uprightnesse of his heart towards him, *ver.* 16. *Is this thy voyce, my sonne David*, (saith *Saul*) *and lift up his voyce and wept. And said to David, thou art more righteous then I: for thou hast rendred me good, and I have rendred thee evill. And thou hast shewed this day that thou hast dealt well with me, &c. Saul* did not only acquit him from those high crimes, of treason, rebellion, sedition, &c. But from all manner of injury or injustice at all done to him. And if *Saul* against whom the offence (if any) had been committed, justifieth him, who shall with any colour of equity condemne him?

Lastly (for this particular) the holy Ghost himselfe gives this expresse testimony concerning *David*; *That he did that which was right in the sight of the Lord, and turned from nothing that he commanded him all the dayes of his life, save onely in the matter of Vriah the Hittite*, 1 *Kings* 15. 5. Whereas, if that fact of his, defending himselfe by force of armes, against *Saul* and his confederates in bloud against him, had been of any such interpretation as some would make it (by making other cases like unto it) as either treason, rebellion or the like; doubtlesse this had been an higher and greater matter of exception against him, then the matter of *Vriah* it self. But yet further that their practise in the particular mentioned respectively and so yours, being only conformable thereunto, was, and is every wayes justifiable; and of perfect consistence with the rules of reason, equity and all good conscience, and no wayes derogatory to Kingly power and authority. I remonstrate and prove by this one consideration.

Men that have no lawfull authority or power to take away the lives or goods of men, may very lawfully be resisted in any attempt they shall make, to doe either; and if their lives miscarry in such attempts, they have their meanes in their own hands, (as we say) their bloud is upon their owne heads. This I suppose is a pregnant and knowne principle both in reason

and religion. If a man assaults another upon the high way, and seeks to take away his money or life from him; if the person assaulted slayes the other *se defendo* (as the Law speaks) there is neither Law nor conscience wil take hold on, or reprove him for it. This proposition is manifest. I go on therefore and adde,

But men can have no lawful authority or power, by any warrant or commission from a King to take away the lives, or goods, of those that are innocent and have not transgressed the Law, no not of those that are not in a lawful way convicted for transgressors of the Law.

Therefore such men as these may lawfully be resisted in any attempts they shal make either upon our lives, or our goods, notwithstanding any warrant, commission, or command they have or pretend to have, from a King to do it. And take that along with you which apparently follows from hence: If such persons so assaulted may lawfully resist such assailants, then may they every whit as lawfully provide themselves beforehand of such means, wherewith they may be able to make the resistance when time comes. As if it be lawful for a Traveller to kil a thief upon the way in the defence of his life, or money; certainly it is lawful for him to ride with a Sword, Pistol, or the like, wherewith he may be able to do it; It is ridiculous to grant the lawfulnes of an end, and to deny a lawfulnes of means necessary and sufficient to attain that end.

But some (it may be) wil deny that proposition, which affirmeth, that those men have no lawful power or authority to seize upon mens lives or goods who are innocent, and as yet so reputed by the Law, having the authority and command of the King to do it. That therefore no unjust, or unrighteous command of a King, can enable any man with any lawful power to put in execution any such command, I thus demonstrate (though indeed it be a thing evident enough in it self without any demonstration) no King can derive any power or authority to another, to any minister, officer, or the like, but only that wherewith himself is invested, and possessed of, either formally, or by way of eminency and surplussage. But no King is himself invested with any authority or power to do any thing which is unjust, or unrighteous: therefore he cannot impart or give any such power to another: and consequently those that attempt or do any thing by vertue of any unjust command from a King, had every whit as good do the thing upon their own heads and authority, without any warrant or commission from the King at all: the fact as touching the lawfulnesse of it, is but of one and the same consideration in both cases. Now that a King himself hath no power or authority at all, to doe any thing that is unjust or unequal, is yet more evident then the former, thus: All power that a King hath in point of government, is derived upon him, either by God, or by men, or both: but it is a truth of the cleerest evidence that neither the one, nor the other, neither God, nor man conferreth any power upon him to do unjustly. Concerning God, there is not the least question to be made: he gives no man authority to sin, but laies his authority and command upon all the world to do righteously: and as for men, supposing they be but reasonable men that have conferred the power upon a King, it cannot be thought, or once imagined, that they should give a power out of themselves, against themselves; a power to injure, or to wrong either them or their posterity. And though they should be conceived to do a thing so inconsistent with reason and even common sence, yet such an act of theirs, were a meere nullity: the King was never the more possest of any such power, because they that are supposed to have conferred it upon him, had it not in themselves, nor the least right or power to derive it upon any other.

Yea, but (wil the malignant Doctors) stil object and reply, who shal be Judge in this

case,

case, Whether the command or commission of a King, given to an Officer, or other subject, to be put in execution, be unjust, or no? Is it not fit, that rather the King himself should be judge in this case, then every private man? Is it fit to give way or allow, that every private man should scan, examine, judge, and determine either the righteousnesse or unrighteousnesse of the Kings command? Doth not such a liberty as this tend to dissolve the bands of obedience to Superiours? To poure contempt upon Kings and Rulers, and to fill the world with confusion?

To this I answer, First, that for many things that are commanded by Kings and Superiours, there needs little or no examination or fitting, whether they be lawful, or no. Their unlawfulnesse is written (as it were) in their foreheads, with such Capital Letters, that he that runs may read it. A man needs no skil either in Arithmetique or Geometry, nor the use of any rule or square, to try either whether the bow be streight, or the string bent and crooked. Half an eye is sufficient provision for this decision. The command of that Idolatrous King *Nebuchadnezzar* with his Nobles, that men should worship his golden Image, was so notoriously wicked, that those three servants of God, *Shadrack*, *Meshack*, and *Abednego*, were *not careful to answer the King concerning it. Dan.* 3. 16. that is, they would never take time to study or consider whether they should obey it, or no. Such was the command of the Elders and Rulers to *Peter* and *John*, *When they commanded them that in no wise they should speak or teach in the Name of Iesus*, *Act.* 3. 18, 19. Besides many others both upon Sacred, Ecclesiastick, and Civil Record, of like condition and importance.

2. If it be not lawful for inferiours to examine and enquire into the commands of Kings, and other their Superiours; whether they be lawful or no; then is there a necessity lying upon men by way of duty, to make men equal with God, and to judge them as unerringly, as universally righteous and holy, as he; which a man of conscience wil hardly forbeare to call blasphemy. The sequel is evident: Because men can rise no higher in their thoughts and apprehensions of God himselfe in this kinde, then to judge him absolutely and unquestionably righteous, worthy to be obeyed, in whatsoever he shall command, without examination.

3. If men were either bound to, or lawfully might obey their Superiours without all examination, there would be no place left for that command of our Saviour, wherein he prohibites his friends and servants, to feare those that could only kill the body; meaning by such, either only, or principally Kings and Rulers, who are cõmonly said to have *potestatem vitæ & necis*, power of life and death. There is no reason to think, that either Kings or Rulers should take away the lives of those that wil comply with them in all their desires and commands: and as little reason is there for any man to think, that men should run the hazzard of being killed, by disobeying the commands and wil of Kings, if they might safely, and with the peace of a good conscience obey and comply with them.

4. It is no more disparagement or dishonour to Kings or Rulers to have their commands examined by those to whom they are directed and given, then it was for *Paul* and the rest of the Apostles to have their preachings and doctrines examined by the inferiour sort of Christians that heard them. These were every whit as great (if not far greater) in Spiritual authority and dignity, as Kings themselves are in politique and civil. Now the Holy Ghost is so far from reproving those, who examined the things which they heard from *Paul* himself, that he hath left it upon record as matter of special commendation to them, *That they daily searched the Scriptures, whether things were so or no*, as he had taught them, *Act.* 17. 11. Yea the Apostles themselves were so far from looking upon it, as any matter of prejudice to them or

their

their reputations, that what they delivered and taught, should be brought to the touch-stone by those that heard them, that they required this at their hands by way of duty, and exhorted them unto it. See 1 *Cor.* 10. 14. 1 *Thes.* 5, 21, *&c.* And yet far greater reason is there, why the teaching of the Apostles should have been ἀνυπεύθυνα, *i.* priviledged from account, then the commands of Kings: because they had a promise of such a presence of the *Spirit of truth* with them, *that he should lead them into the way of all truth*; whereas Kings, both in the framing and publishing of their commands, are left to an arbitrary assistance from Heaven, after the manner of other men.

5. *The wrath of God hath been revealed from heaven*, *i.* hath been shewed in very remarkable and exemplary manner, upon those who have swallowed the commands of Kings, and submitted unto them in things unlawful. Those Officers that obeyed King *Nebuchadnezzers* command in casting those three innocent servants of God into the fiery Furnace, were suddenly consumed by the flame that came out of the furnace; whereas those that streined at the Kings command, and exchanged it (as the Scripture phrase is) meaning (I conceive) for the commandement of God, obeying this in the stead, remained untouched of the fire in the midst of the furnace, *Dan.* 3. 21. So the men of Israel that had obeyed the commandement of *Saul* in giving their assistance to him for the persecuting of *David*, were punished together with *Saul*, fleeing and falling down wounded before the Philistins, as *Peter Martyr* hath wel observed upon 1 *Sam.* 31. 1. So of that great Host of Assyrians, that joyned with their King in an unlawful war against the Church and People of God, there were 185000. slain in one night by an Angel, 2 *Kin.* 19. 35. To passe by all other examples of the severity of God in this kind, that is most worthy consideration, which is recorded, 2 *Chron.* 24. It is said, ver. 17. *That after the death of Jehoida, the Princes of Iuda came and did reverence unto the King, and that the King hearkned to them.* Not long after, *They conspired together against Zachariah*, a faithful Prophet of the Lord, for dealing faithfully with them, *and at the Kings commandement, stoned him with stones in the Court of the house of the Lord*, ver. 21. *But* (saith the story, ver. 23.) *it came to passe at the end of the yeere, that the Host of Syria came up against him: and they came to Iuda and Ierusalem, and destroyed all the Princes of the people from among the people, &c.* The just revenging hand of God, singling out from amongst many thousands, those persons by name who had obeyed the King in a way of unrighteousnesse, though they were the chiefest and greatest of them, and in that respect (in all likelihood) kept farthest off from the danger, and had more outward provision for their safety, then others.

6. (And lastly for this) If this liberty we speak of, of examining the commands of Kings and other Superiours, were granted unto, and used by those that are in subjection, it would not devest or bereave Kings or Rulers of any obedience at all, that were worth the having or receiving from men, or that were truly honourable or safe for them to receive. All that in reason it could be conceived to do in this kind, is to prevent and cut off all such obedience from Kings, which would endanger their cutting off, and their States and Kingdomes with them. If this liberty, or duty rather, of examining the commands of Superiours, had been preached and pressed upon the consciences of men with that authority and power, which the truth and high concernment of it will beare, or rather (indeed) required, those Crownes might have flourished upon the heads of Kings, which now begin to droope and languish; and those Nations enjoyed abundance of peace under them, the foundations of whose safety are now shaken. *Ephraim is oppressed and broken in judgment, because he willingly followed the commandement, viz.* of King *Ieroboam*, who commanded the worshipping of the golden Calfe. *Hos.* 5. 11. Here is the fruit of the forwardnesse of a Nation to obey and comply with an

Idolatrous

idolatrous King, even to be *oppreſſed and broken in judgment*, *i.* Not only to be ſorely afflicted, but utterly ruined and deſtroyed, and that in a courſe of juſtice, and of the righteous proceedings of God againſt them. In this cup of trembling and aſtoniſhment which they were compelled to drink from the hand of God, there was none other ingredient, but their own waies; and that which it ſeems was predominant in the mixture, was their forwardneſſe to ſide with their King, in that falſe religion and worſhip which he maintained. And for the ruine and deſtruction of *Jeroboam* himſelf and his houſe, that is much conſiderable from the pen of the holy Ghoſt, that it is not aſcribed ſo much to his ſin and wickedneſs in commanding Idolatry, as to the ſin and wickedneſs of the people in obeying. *And this thing* (ſaith the hiſtory, ſpeaking of *Ieroboams* Calf, and command given to the people to worſhip them. 1 *Kin.* 12.30.) *turned to ſin*, meaning to a provocation of a very high nature, to ſuch a ſin, *which* even *rooted out and deſtroyed the houſe of Ieroboam from the face of the earth*, ch. 13.34 But how, or by what means did *Ieroboams* Calves and Idolatrous commands concerning them, turn to ſuch a ſin or provocation, as was his ruin? The holy Ghoſt aſcribes this to the obedience of the people in this behalfe; *And this thing turned to ſin: for the people went to worſhip before the one, even unto Dan.* Clearly implying, that that ſin which was the ruin and rooting out of *Ieroboam* and his houſe, was not ſo much his wicked and Idolatrous command, conſidered ſimply and in it ſelf, but as it found obedience and ſubjection in the people. The people in true account, who magnified *Ieroboam* in his commands, above God in his, were they that ruined both *Ieroboam* and his Houſe. And generally, all that Kings and Princes gaine, by an unlawful ſubjection and obedience from their people, is little elſe but the kindling of the fire of Gods jelouſie againſt them. *I am the Lord* (ſaith God, *Eſa.* 42.8.) *this is my Name: and my glory wil I not give to another.* I wil not ſuffer it to be given to, nor to be received by another; I wil ſell it deare to him that ſhal own it, and wil recover it out of his ruin. We know *Herod* was ſmitten by an Angel from heaven, and ſoon caſt up that morſell of divine honour which he had ſwallowed, by a miſerable, ſhameful, and loathſome death. As thoſe that make Images of wood, ſtone, ſilver, gold, or the like, to be adored and worſhipped, doe the greateſt injury that may be to thoſe poore innocent creatures; they expoſe them to the fury and jelouſie of God, whereby they commonly ſuffer a diſſolution of their being before their time, as the braſſe whereof the brazen Serpent was made, did, being *broken all to pieces, when Incenſe was once offered unto it*, 2 *Kin.* 18.4. and the gold whereof *Aarons* Calfe was made, being *burnt in the fire, and ſtamped and ground ſmall, even to very duſt, and this alſo caſt into the river*, *Deut.* 9.21. So they that wil deveſt the great God of heaven and earth, to cloath Kings and Princes, or whomſoever, with the ſpoiles of his Name, as all thoſe doe, who obey them with diſobedience unto God, as in one ſence they make them gods, ſo in another, by making them gods, they make them indeed more men then they were, more obnoxious to his diſpleaſure, who hath the command of their life and breath. Conſider that paſſage (to omit many others of like importance) which you ſhal find, *Eſa.* 1.31. *And the ſtrong*, *i.* the Idoll, either becauſe in the idolaters conceit, it is ſtrong like a god, or rather ſtrong, in reſpect of the firmneſſe and durablenes of the matter of it, *ſhall be as Tow, and the maker thereof as a ſpark; they ſhal both burn together, and none ſhall quench them.* Mark wel: How ſtrong and durable ſoever the matter is, whereof the Idoll is made, whether it be the beſt heart of Oake that can be gotten, or the hardeſt and firmeſt ſtone, ſilver, gold, or the like, or if there be any thing more durable, and more reſiſting corruption, then theſe, yet being made an Idoll, it becomes *as Tow*, *i.* of a very weak and periſhable nature: *and the maker of it* (ſaith he) *ſhall be as a Spark*, *viz.* to ſet this Tow on fire; meaning that he is the cauſe both why that good ſubſtance, which was made into an Idol, periſheth ſo ſuddenly, and likewiſe of his own periſhing by the hand and judgement of God. In like manner

when men or women shal make idols of Kings and Princes, and great men, and fall down before them, and worship them with divine worship, as all they in effect do, who yeeld obedience unto them against God, what do they else but shake the very foundations of their lives, and present beings in the World, and call for the fire of Gods jealousie from heaven to consume them? Whereas on the contrary, those that soberly and out of conscience refuse to obey them upon such terms, I mean, against God, they do them as good service, if they would please so to apprehend and interpret it, as *Mordecai* did to King *Ahahuerosh*, when he revealed the treason of the two Eunuchs against him. He that refuseth to obey a Superiour in an unlawfull command, giveth notice to him, that his foot is in a snare of death, and that his preservation stands in his desisting and repenting.

I shall mention only one objection more wherewith that unhappy learning of the contrary side, useth to be very importune, and to triumph much in it. The Christians in the primitive times submitted themselves with patience to those most unjust and cruell commands of the heathen Emperors, when they sent their Officers to put them to execution, and to take their lives from them: they never resisted, nor stood upon their guard but tooke even death it self, yea, and many times torments worse then death, patiently. And whereas this might otherwise be sufficiently answered, that they made no resistance, because they were not able, they had no considerable strength to make good any resistance; to take away this answer, they usually cite a place out of one of the Fathers, *Tertullian* by name, wherein he disclaimes this ground of their patience in suffering, writing unto the States or Senators of the Empire, affirming, that they had a considerable party of Christians in their Dominions, whereby they were able to have made resistance against them.

Si enim & hostes exertos, non tantum vindices occultos, agere vellemus, deesset nobis vis numerorum & copiarum? ---Externi sumus, & vestra omnia implevimus, urbes, insulas, castella, municipia, conciliabula, castra ipsa, &c. --Cui bello non idonei, non promptissimi demus, &c. Tertul. Apolog. cap. 37.

Because this objection is matter of so much confidence and triumph to the adversary, *I* shal desire leave to examine it the more thoroughly, and to search the bottom and foundations of it in my answer to it, *I* shal first speak to the testimony propounded, and consider the validity or likelihood of the truth thereof; and secondly, (for argument sake) the truth of it being granted or supposed, we shall endeavour to shew of how little force or concernment it is, any waies to disable the truth of that position we have in hand, which justifieth a resistance against the violent execution of any unjust command from Kings, in those that are assaulted under pretence thereof; therefore as concerning the testimony of *Tertullian*, touching the sufficiency of strength the Christians in his time should have to resist the Emperour and all his power, *I* answer,

First, that this Father might easily be mistaken in taking the proportion, and making the estimate of the strength and power of Christians within the compasse of the Roman Empire, in comparison of the strength of those that were ready to oppose them. This was no point of faith, nor of Christian Religion; and therefore a devout Father might easily fall under a misprision herein. The common saying indeed is, that *unicuique in arte sua credendum, i.e.* every man is to be beleeved in his own art or profession, but no rule of charity or reason binds us to beleeve another in any thing which belongs to the art or profession of another, and wherein himself is little versed or exercised. Now to weigh the strength of a Kingdome, State, or Empire, (as it were) in a ballance, and to make an estimate of, and compare together the power of severall parties or divisions of people in it with so much exactnesse, as to determine which is the stronger, and which the weaker, belongs to the profession and imployment of a States-man, not of a Divine, or Minister of the Gospel, of one that sits at the sterne of the Empire, not of one whose heart, and time, and strength, are taken up with the study of the mysteries of heaven yea for a States-man himself to be able upon sufficient grounds, precisely to determine such differences as we speak of, I mean between the strength and strength of different

ferent parties in a State, where there is any neerenesse or appearance of an equality, will require both double diligence and treble sufficiency in him otherwise.

2. How easily might he mistake and miscarry in a matter quite besides his profession and course, who not long after miscarryed so grievously in his own, as to turn *Montanist*, who called himself the holy Ghost, and to approve of the dreams and furious fancies of those two vile women, *Maximilla* and *Prisca* (*Montanus* his wicked associates) for true prophecies. Yea stayed not here neither, but joyned himself with those heretiques called *Cataphryges*, who condemned second marriages as adulterous and prohibited by God: besides divers other misprisions in his own profession, which would take up too much time to insist particularly upon: a memorable example and warning (as it were) from heaven, how unsafe and dangerous it is to build upon the authority of men.

3. It is well observed by one, that there is an aptnesse and proanesse of inclination in much devotion, in persons devoutly given, to over value the workes and piety of other men. Now this Father out of such a principle or inclination as this is, desirous to extoll and magnifie the patience of Christians, might easily draw in such a circumstance as this for such a purpose, upon very weak and slender grounds for it.

4. It is generally observed and known by the writings and records of these times, that even in the pious and Orthodox Fathers themselves there were some touches and streines, some *fibræ* of that root of bitternesse which afterwards grew ranke, and flourished above measure in the times of Popery, yea and brought forth fruit abundantly unto death. I mean an inclination to credit and countenance their religion in the sight of the heathen and the world about them, by very slender reports and relations of things, as of Miracles, Visions, strange accidents, &c. which are generally rejected, as fabulous and false, by the sounder and more considerate knowledge of these latter daies.

5. Suppose there might be considerable numbers of men of the Christian party in the Empire (though to me it is one of the things I least beleeve) to withstand the heathen party therein, yet doubtlesse these were kept under, as the Israelites were in *Ægypt*, when they began to multiply. It is no waies likely, that if they were any waies formidable for their numbers, that they should be suffered to have any proportion of armes or means, either of offence or defence, in case they were assaulted. It being contrary to all reason and rule of State, to suffer a party of an opposite Religion to it the State, and worshipping another God then the State allowed, growing to any considerable numbers within them, to have farther any such proportion or quantity of weapons, armes, or means in any kind, whereby they might endanger and become formidable to the State. Now then granting that which this Father spake concerniug the numbers of Christians amongst the heathens, that they had number for number, man for man, and in this respect might seem to ballance them, and be able enough to resist them; yet wanting armes and other means of defence, wherewith it cannot be conceived but that the adverse party abounded, it had been in vain for them to have made resistauce when violence was offered unto them. And thus much for the first part of my answer, to shew the questionablenes, or rather indeed the great unlikelihood of the truth of that testimony, which is brought to support the objection propounded, which otherwise would fall to the ground of it self.

I go on to the second part of my answer, which is to prove and to shew, that though the testimony be admitted for truth, yet the objection wil not reach the question, or case in hand.

Therefore suppose we the Father that spake as we have heard, *viz.* That the Christians under the heathen Emperours should be able enough to have defended themselves, yea to have opposed the Emperour himself with his party, spake nothing herein but the truth; yet it doth but follow, that all those of his profession, I mean all the Christians that were scattered up

and down the face of the Empire should have the same apprehensions with him herein, should think themselves strong enough to resist their adversaries, in case they were opposed. Those particular persons that were called out here and there, some after others, to suffer, might very probably, yea, could not lightly but conceive and think, that if they should have made any resistance against them that came to lay violent hands upon them, and to put them to death, they should have but enraged their malice against them the more, and so have encreased their own torments: yea, and happily have provoked the heathen party, to rage so much the more against their Christian brethren, who yet remained amongst them. So that in those that were called to suffer, it had been both want of wisdome, in respect of themselves, and of charity in respect of others, if they should have made the least resistance against those unjust and bloody officers, that were sent against them to take away their lives.

If it be here replyed and said; yea but the whole body and party of Christians throughout the Empire, having sufficient strength might have agreed to have risen up at once, and have suppressed their adversaries, if they had judged lawfull.

To this, answer hath in part been made already: as first, that it is no waies probable that they had any sufficiency of strength, no not of men, to have made good such an attempt, much lesse that they had any competent provision of means otherwise, which had been requisite thereunto.

Secondly, that though it should be granted, that they had a sufficiency of strength both waies, yet is it no waies necessary, that therefore they should all be of the same mind & judgment, touching this sufficiency; that they should all be perswaded that their party were strong enough to deale with their adversaries. We know that many attempts, projects, and undertakings which have been in treaty and agitation, have been deserted and laid aside, only through the different judgments and apprehensions of those that were concerned, and to have been engaged therein, touching the expedience or feaceableness of them. As that project of *Achitophel* for the immediate and close following of *David*, was deserted by *Absolon*, and his party, and not put in execution, because of the different advise which *Hushai* the Archit gave. A late instance hereof we had likewise amongst our selves: that dangerous designe of bringing up the army out of the North against the Parliament, proved abortive, the execution of it never seeing the light of the Sun, through the different opinions of those that were, and were to have been in speciall manner concerned therein; some conceiving it to have been a project deserving the name of *none such*; others no waies daring to adventure themselves, their lives, and fortunes, nor some (perhaps) their consciences, upon it. In like manner for the Christians living within the Roman Empire, to have made head and risen up against the main body and state of the Empire to suppresse them, had been an enterprise of that dangerous and grievous consequence, in case it had miscarryed; especially the grounds of the successe of it being so uncertain and weak as they were, that it hath not the least appearance or shew of likelihood, that ever it should be generally consented unto by the whole society of the Christians; without which there was no attempting the putting of it into execution.

2 Sam. 17. 14.

To this may be added.

3. That suppose the Christians we spake of had been generally confident of their strength and had made little question but that they might have carried it against the Emperor and his; yet having no invitation, countenance or command from any Authority, rule or lawfull power in the Empire to attempt any such thing, their case was farre differing from ours who are invited, countenanced, encouraged, and some wayes commanded by as great and as lawfull an Authority as this State hath any, to doe what you have been exhorted to doe in opposing the rage and violence of that malignant and bloud-thirsty generation,

who

who having stollen away the heart of the King, make use of his name to make havock and spoile of your Lawes, Liberties, Estates, Lives, Religion, yea of the Peace, Honour, and safety of the whole Kingdome. It is the expresse command and ordinance of God that inferiour Magistrates, and Rulers should be obeyed as well as Kings, as we observed formerly out of that of *Peter*, 2 *Pet.* 2. 13, 14. *Therefore submit your selves unto every, or all manner of ordinance of man, for the Lords sake, whether it be unto the King as unto the Superiour, or unto governors as those that are sent of him, for the punishment of evill doers, &c.* So that inferiour Governours are by the expresse Commandement of God to be obeyed, as well as the Superiour. Now then put the case that the inferiour Governour requires that which is onely honest, agreeable to the Lawes of God and of Nature, as, *viz.* that we should doe our best to defend our selves against those that contrary to all Law and conscience assault us: the superiour, that which is contrary to both, *viz.* to sit still whilest our Lawes, Liberties, Estates, Lives, friends, godly Magistrates, and Religion it selfe, are indangered, and ready to be taken from us; the question in this case, whether we are to obey the inferiour or superiour Authority; (the command of God indifferently extending it for obedience unto either, in things that are lawfull) is easily resolved, except men will complaine and say it is darke at noone day. When it shall be substantially proved unto us, that an unlawfull command from a superiour Magistrate, dissolves and makes void that Commandement of God, wherby we stand bound to obey the inferior, in that which is lawfull; We may then have cause to make a demur touching the goodnesse of the cause; but till then we may be bold to say, it is day, when the Sun shineth. This then is a difference very considerable, between the case of primitive Christians, and ours, in the point in hand, supposing they had power to defend themselves against the persecuting agents and and instruments of the Emperour, yet had they not any countenance or command from any Authority in that state to doe it, which we have in ours.

4. Still supposing (that which yet is never to be granted, till it be better proved) that the Primitive Christians we spake of, had a sufficiency of power, to have defended themselves against the persecuting Emperours, and did it not, yet there may be this reason given, why they should rather patiently suffer, then make resistance, because whilest they were yet heathen and unconverted to the Christian Faith, they consented to that power or authority in the Emperour, whereby he made those bloudy Edicts for the persecuting and murthering of poore Christians. Now it had been a very unreasonable thing and justly offensive, both in the eyes of God and men, if the same persons who had established a power or authority in the hand of a Ruler should have resisted or opposed him, or his Agents and Ministers in the execution of it. A servant of God, *though he sweares* or bargains to *his own hurt*, yet must he *not change*, as you have it, *Psal.* 15. 4. But we are under no such ingagements, or bands, and therefore have a liberty which they had not: For though a mans consent to an unlawfull power, be in absolute and simple consideration a meere nullity, and such a power never the more lawfullized thereby; yet by all rules of reason and equity, such a consent ought to be a bar against him that hath given it, that he shal not for any carnall benefit or advantage, break out against him that exerciseth this power by vertue of such consent, meerly for such exercise sake.

5. Be it granted that the Christian party in the Romane Empire was very great (as is pretended) yet could it in no sence be called or looked upon as the whole state or body of the Empire, as the Parliamentary Assembly is amongst us. This in a representative and legall consideration, is the whole body of the Nation, and of all the persons in it, having the same power and authority by Law, and in conscience too, to do every whit as much in every respect, as the whole Nation, and all the particular persons therein could have, if they were met together. Now that may be lawfull for an entire body or society of persons to doe, which

may not be lawfull for a part or some few of the society, save onely in conjunction with the whole. The Parliament (we know) being interpretatively, and in consideration of Law, the whole body of the Kingdome, hath a lawfull power, both to do and command many things, which a far greater part or number of men in the Kingdome have not; no, all the Kingdom besides hath no such power, as they: and many things may be done very lawfully, and with a good conscience, by vertue of their appointment and command, which could not be done upon any such termes without it, though a thousand times more men or persons then they are should command them.

6. Supposing they had such a power as we have oft supposed (but never granted positively) and that it was lawfull for them to have made resistance accordingly, yet may God by way of speciall dispensation, and for very great and considerable ends of his, hide this liberty we speake of from their eyes; that they should not see it to make use of. We know there were many in the Apostles time, who *eat herbs*, when as yet it was as lawfull for them, in respect of any command of God to the contrary, to have eaten flesh; but yet they did better to content themselves with herbs, when God had not revealed and cleared up this liberty unto them. And yet they did as well as they too, who seeing their liberty in this kind by the clear light of the Gospell, did take it, and eate flesh. Consider that passage of the Apostle, *Rom.* 14. 6. *He that observeth a day, observeth it unto the Lord: and he that observeth not a day, observeth it not unto the Lord. He that eateth, eateth unto the Lord: for he giveth God thanks: and he that eateth not, eateth not unto the Lord, and giveth God thanks.* Whereby it is evident that the forbearance of some actions by some men wherein they approve themselves unto God, doth not at all prejudice or gainsay the like acceptation of others in their doing them: yea that some men may be bound in conscience to forbeare that, which another with a good conscience may doe. And this doubtlesse is (if the testimony of *Tertullian* mentioned be true) the case between those Primitive Christians, and Christians in these dayes. They might out of tenderneſſe of conscience, and out of an apprehension of some unlawfulnesse in it, forbeare to vindicate themselves against those bloudy butchers, that were set on worke by the Emperours to destroy them: and yet Christians in these dayes, seeing their liberty in this kind, may as lawfully resist those that shall come against them in the like manner, as the other forbare it.

If it be here objected and said that it is no wayes like that the Church of God should generally be ignorant of such a liberty as we speak of and challenge, if there were any such liberty indeede; is it credible that God should hide such a point of truth as this from them all?

I answer first, it is not necessary to suppose that it should be hid from them all without exception; it is sufficient for our purpose if it were hid from their teachers, and those that were leaders to the rest, upon whose judgment (in things of this nature) the generality of people then much depended. But secondly, if there were many Ministers of the Gospell and teachers, even in the Apostles times themselves, that were ignorant of that liberty which the Gospell brought with it to the world, for the eating of flesh, the non-observation of dayes and of circumcision, &c. or at least were so far ignorant, that they were not able to informe and satisfie the generall sort of Christians therein, it may very well be conceived, that some hundreds of yeares after, when the light began to darken and wax dim (in comparison) they might now be generally ignorant of such a point of liberty as this we now speake of, at least so far ignorant, as not to be able to satisfie the generality of their people therein. Especially if we consider,

Thirdly, that from the dayes of the Apostles, untill their numbers and strength were raised and increased to the supposed pitch of a sufficiency to resist (which was not lesse then

neere

neere 200. yeares) there was no occasion, of studying, or looking into the point: they had been in never the better case, whether they had had that liberty we speak of or no; and therefore it is no marvaile if they neglected the searching after it. And when cases of conscience (as this was) lie unstudied and uninquired into, neither is it any marvaile if the resolution or state of the truth in them, be not generally known.

Fourthly, that Spirit of courage, patience and constancy, which God poured out abundantly upon his Church and servants in those times, whereby they were so strengthned and incouraged to suffer, that martyrdome seemed a desirable thing unto them, might be a speciall reason and meanes to take them off from inquiring into, or so much as thinking what their lawfull liberty might be in the case we speake of. Men that have a full estate in faire rents, as much as they can well spend and as their heart desireth, are not like, have no occasion to busie themselves in studying the case of usury, as whether it be lawfull to take increase for the lone of money, or no; which he that hath his estate in money, hath. Whilst the *Israelites* were fed by God in an extraordinary way by Manna from Heaven, there was no necessity or occasion for them to plough and sow. So whilst Christians were furnished with an extraordinary strength from Heaven, to offer themselves up in martyrdom, their edge must needs be taken off hereby, as from seeking meanes to escape it, so from studying cases and questions about the lawfulnesse of escaping.

Fiftly, whilst there lay a confessed necessity of suffering upon Christians, *i.e.* till the supposed strength of resistance came to them (which as was noted before, could not be much lesse then 200. yeares) Martyrdome was so extolled and magnified by the generall acclamations of the Ministers, and continuall panegyricks, and orations made in praise thereof, that it is like no man would for a long time be endured, that should teach any doctrin that might any ways seeme to take men off from the desire thereof. As there are many doctrines and points of Religion amongst our selves that have been a long time taught with so high an hand, and generally received with so full an applause, that it is not safe for any man to appeare so much as in a seeming opposition to them, (though with never so much modesty and tendernesse.) But,

Sixtly (and lastly for this) whether God was pleased to make use of one or both of their particulars last mentioned, or any other like unto them, as a meanes to hide that liberty of resistance we speake of from the eyes of the primitive Christians, or no; certaine it is, that the frame and tenour of his after dispensations, did require, that such a liberty should be hid from them, or at least that they should not make use of it; as on the contrary, the nature and purport of those dispensations which God hath now in hand, requires that this liberty should be manifested and made known unto Christians. We know that according to the counsell and foreknowledge of God, Antichrist was then to come into the world: as now we know that he is about to be destroyed and cast out of the world. Now this is a generall rule, looke what truthes were necessary to be shut up and concealed from the Churches of Christ, that Antichrist might passe by, and get up into his throane; the discovery and letting out of the same into the world, are necessary for his pulling downe. For certaine it is, that Antichrist could never have gotten up into that throane, wherein he yet sits and shewes himselfe in his sacrilegious glory, had not God by speciall dispensation suffered him to make many truths his foot-stoole. If all truths had beene clearely taught in the Church of Christ, and accordingly received and believed, it had beene impossible that ever such a monster should have gotten into the Temple of God, that should *exalt himselfe above all that which is called God.* But God causing a dead sleepe (as it were) to fall upon those truthes, which should in speciall manner have opposed him, he had the opportunity without much contradiction or noyse to steale and convey himselfe into that *Cathedram pestilentiæ*, that chaire of papall state, which yet he possesseth.

poſſeſſeth. Now amonſt many other truths that were of neceſſity to be laid aſleepe, for the paſſing of this beaſt unto his great power and authority, and for the maintaining and ſafeguarding of him in the poſſeſſion hereof, this is one of ſpeciall conſideration; that Chriſtians may lawfully in a lawfull way, ſtand up to defend themſelves, in caſe they be able, againſt any unlawfull aſſaults; by what aſſailants, or by what pretended Authority ſoever made upon them. For had this opinion beene timeouſly enough, and ſubſtantially taught in the Church, it would certainly have cauſed an abortion in Antichriſts birth, and ſo have diſappointed the devill of his firſt borne. Had not the ſpirits, and judgements, and conſciences of men been as it were cowed and marvellouſly imbaſed and kept under, (and ſo prepared for Antichriſts lure) by doctrines and tenents, exceſſively advancing the power of ſuperiours, over inferiors, and binding Iron yokes and heavy burthens upon thoſe that were in ſubjection, doubtleſſe they would never have bowed down their backes ſo low as to let ſuch a beaſt goe over them, they would never reſigned up their judgements and conſciences into the hand of ſuch a ſpirituall tyrant as he. So that you ſee, there was a ſpeciall neceſſity for the letting of Antichriſt into the world, yea and for the continuance of him in his Throne, that no ſuch opinion as this which we ſpeake of, whether truth or untruth ſhould be taught and believed; I meane, which vindicateth and maintaineth, the juſt rights, and liberties, and priviledges of thoſe that under authority, and ſubjection unto others.

Whereas, now on the contrary, that time of Gods preordination and purpoſe, for the downfall of Antichriſt, drawing neere, there is a kinde of neceſſity, that thoſe truths, which have ſlept for many yeares, ſhould now be awakened: and particularly that God ſhould reveale and diſcover unto his faithfull Miniſters, and other his ſervants the juſt bounds and limits of authority, and power, and conſequently the juſt and full extent of the lawfull liberties of thoſe that live in ſubjection. Evident it is, that they are the commonalty of Chriſtians, I meane Chriſtians of ordinary ranke and quality that ſhall be moſt active, and have the principall hand in executing the judgements of God upon the Whore. Conſider that place, *Re.* 18.4,5,6. *And I heard another voyce from heaven ſay, goe out of her my people, that yee be not partakers in her ſinnes, and that yee receive not of her plagues. For her ſins are come up unto Heaven, and God hath remembred her iniquities. Reward her even as ſhe hath rewarded you, and give her double according to her workes, and in the cup that ſhe hath filled to you, fill her the double.* Now that this ſervice ſhall be performed unto God by them (Chriſtians I mean of under rank and quality) contrary to the will, deſires, or commands of thoſe Kings and Princes under whom they live, it appeares by that which immediatly followes, *verſe 9. And the Kings of the Earth ſhall bewaile her and lament for her, which have committed fornication and lived in pleaſure with her, when they ſhall ſee the ſmoake of her burning.* It is evident that the people of God ſpoken of before, were ſubjects tot heſe Kings, that ſhould bewaile the whore in her ruine; for they are ſuch as come out of *Babylon*; which could not be, except they had lived under thoſe Kings that were Babyloniſh, and had given their Kingdomes to the whore, and by whom Babyloniſme had been countenanced and ſet up. And that theſe (or at leaſt the greateſt part of them) ſhould no ways conſent to the deſtruction of the whore by their ſubjects, it is evident by this; they ſhould *waile and lament over her*, when ſhe is deſtroyed. As for that which is found in the former Chapter concerning the 10. Kings (*Rev.* 17.17.) *Into whoſe heart God hath put it to give their Kingdoms or power to the Beaſt*, where it is ſaid, *that theſe ſhould hate the whore and make her deſolate, and naked, and eat her fleſh, and burn her with fire*; I conceive this is not meant of the perſons of Kings, but of their States and Kindomes, *i. e.* of the generality of their people under them.

1. The expreſſion, will fairely, and with full conſonancy to the Scripture language elſe-

where

where, carry this sence and interpretation; the bodies of states or Kingdomes indefinitely taken and considered, being usually signified by their heads, as Dukedomes by Dukes, Kingdomes by Kings, &c. as we have had occasion formerly to observe more at large when we produced severall instances from the Scriptures of this kind of phrase. I shall (for the present) be your remembrancer only of that one, *Dan.* 7. 17. with ver. 23. where ver. the 17. *the foure great Beasts* are said to be *foure Kings that shall arise out of the earth.* Yet verse 23. it is said that *the fourth Beast shall be the fourth Kingdom upon Earth, which shall be diverse from all Kingdoms, i.e.* all the other three Kingdoms formerly expressed by three Kings. I could direct you to severall other Texts of Scripture where the same manner of speaking is found; but that I hasten. 2. If we take the word, Kings, properly, *i.e.* precisely for the persons that are the heads and chiefe rulers of Kingdoms, in that Scripture, and will say, that these *shall hate the whore and make her desolate, &c.* I apprehend no possibility (for the present) of reconciling this place, with that other mentioned, *Rev.* 18. 9. Where it is said, that *the Kings of the Earth who have committed fornication and lived deliciously with her, shall bewaile her, and lament for her, when they shall see the smoke of her burning.* Certainely they that shall *hate her*, and helpe to *make her desolate*, and to *burne her with fire*, will not bewaile her, nor lament over her, after such a manner as is farther expressed in that which followes in this Chapter. As for that Exposition, which by the Kings of the Earth that should bewaile and lament over the whore in her burning, understandeth Cardinalls, Arch Bishops, Bishops, &c. who in their port and pompe are as Kings, it seemeth not probable; I rather conceive these to be the *Merchants of the Earth that should weep and waile over her, because no man buyeth their wares any more, verse* 11. and who are said *to have waxen rich*, by that long trade and trafique they had had with the world, in those Babilonish commodities. Therefore they are the ten Kingdomes indefinitely considered. *i.* persons living within the ten Kingdomes, not the ten Kings personally and properly taken, that shall hate the Whore and make her desolate, and burne her flesh with fire. Now this promise and prediction of God concerning the destruction of the Whore by Christians of inferiour ranke and quality, can hardly be conceived however it should be fulfilled or take place, except the judgments and consciences of men should be loosed and set at liberty from the bands and fetters of those enslaving Doctrines and apprehensions, wherewith they had been formerly oppressed and made servile above measure to those that were in place & authority over them. This then we see a ground and reason fully satisfactory, both how and why the Christians in the Primitive times, whilest Antichrist was in comming, might well be ignorant of that liberty, the knowledge whereof would have kept him from his Throne; and also why that liberty should now be revealed by God and taught unto his people; the ignorance whereof would still keep and continue him upon his Throne, when Gods Will and Pleasure is that he shall be thrown down. And this for Answer to the Objection last propounded; and for the sixt particular, by way of Answer to the maine Objection. But,

7. (And lastly) whatsoever the credit or authority of *Tertullian* may be for the strength of Christians in Primitive times, to make resistance against their enemies, and how justifiable, or commendable soever the patience and subjection of these Christians in suffering as they did, may be by some conceived to bee, supposing they had such a power to have defended themselves, as is supposed; yet most certaine it is, that as well the authority of the one as the submission of the other, yea and both together, being both Apocriphall, are too light to weigh against the authority of the practice of that great Prophet *Elisha*, who made resistance against the Kings Messenger, that was sent against him to take away his head (as we instanced to you in the former part of this Discourse) as also against *David*, a man after Gods own heart, who being but a private man, strengthned himselfe as well as he could, both with men and armes,

yea and with *Goliahs* sword to boote, to defend himselfe against the unjust and bloody persecution of *Saul*; both which examples (besids others of like importance) are Canonical! *Elisha* must not be censured as an evil-doer, nor *David* condemned for a Traytor, or rebell, either because *Tertullian* saith, that there were Christians enough in the Roman Empire, to make their party good against the Emperor and his wicked instruments, nor yet because these Christians did not stand up in their own defence, having sufficiency of strength to have done it. Thus we see there is nothing at al in the patience or submission of the primitive Christians, so much urged and insisted upon, to discountenance that cause and service, wherein your best concurrence hath been desired, of any consideration or concernment that way. To rise up in your owne defence, in the defence of your lives, your estates, your liberties, your wives, your children, your friends, your Lawes, your religion, against those, who without any lawfull Authority or warrant either of God or men, are risen up with all their might, and all their power to make havock, and spoile, and ruine of all, is no wayes offensive either in the sight of God, or reasonable men.

And (to conclude) if any man be afraid that Martyrdome should suffer by this, as either that the glory hereof should be eclipsed, or that all opportunities of expressing our selves unto God and Jesus Christ in such a service, should be cut off, and taken away by such an opinion. I answer, No: The glory and praise of Martyrdome will remaine as entire, with this Doctrine, as without it, and the opportunities of shewing our selves in our love and faithfulnesse unto Christ in such a service, will no wayes be diminished hereby.

For First, the glory and praise of Martyrdome or suffering for Christ, doth not consist in lying down, and suffering proud and wicked men to ride over our heads, in sitting still whilest our estates, liberties, wives, children, friends, are ruined & destroyed before our faces, when God puts an opportunity into our hand to defend them; the name and Gospell of Jesus Christ would rather suffer losse by such a patience as this, then any wayes gaine; it were more Infidell-like, then Christian, not to make the best provision we can, for the safety of those that are so neare to us in such a case. But the grace and glory of Martyrdome lyeth in this; First, when a man is resolved to professe the name, and Faith of Christ, what danger soever he incurre, what losse soever he sustaines, or is like to sustaine by it. Secondly, When it comes to the necessity of suffering, that he baulkes not, nor faulters with Christ: that he is not any wayes ashamed of him, or any of his words, or wayes. Thirdly, when a man disdeignes deliverance upon any base termes, or by unworthy meanes, that scornes to fly away for the enjoyment of any rest, except it be with the wings of a Dove (the Scriptures Emblem of innocency) *which is covered with silver wings* (as *David* speakes) *and her feathers like yellow gold.* It is ever honourable to fly with such wings as these.

Fourthly (and lastly) when God doth not open a doore of lawfull escape unto him, either by flight or otherwise, but hedgeth him up (as it were) with thornes into the hand of the persecutor, that he patiently and with meekenesse and composednesse of spirit, without any breakings out in one kind or other, without any expression of discontent either against God or man, submitteth himselfe unto the stroke, in what kind soever it falls upon him.

And secondly, for opportunities of Martyrdome, of suffering for Christ, and that in numbers more then we desire, they will not be wanting, though we shall not suffer every base Cavaleer, that saith he is for the King to cut our throates, or to plunder our Cities, Townes, or House, to commit outrages and incolencies upon Wives, Children, Friends, &c.

1. It is a suffering for Christ (and so a degree or kind of Martyrdome) to suffer those things which we doe, in feares, in dangers, in distractions, in runnings, or removings up and downe, in disappointments of our affaires, in the losse, expence, or forbearance of our estates, by those

thoſe men of *Belial*, that are as Thornes in our eyes, and ſcourges in our ſides, only or chiefly becauſe we will be that in open and conſtant profeſſion, which by the grace of God we are inwardly and in the truth of our ſoules; becauſe we will not proſtitute our conſciences to the luſts of their Father the devill, we will not give the right hand of fellowſhip to them, in thoſe deſperate courſes of wickednesſe and prophanneſſe wherein they are engaged, and wherein (it ſeemes) they meane to weary, yea and weare themſelves out before they will give over.

2. We lie open to the hatred and malice, to the mockings and ſcoffings, to the rayling and revilings, to the ſlanders and lyings of the whole malignant party round about us; and that becauſe we hold forth the Lord Jeſus Chriſt in his holineſſe and purity, in his power and authority over the world, in his truth, and faithfulneſſe, in his mercy, and goodneſſe, in his glory, and Majeſty, in our lives, and converſations. And this is a Martyrdome too, or ſuffering for Chriſt.

3. (And laſtly) we know not how ſoon or ſuddenly we may be called out by God, to ſuffer even a perfect and compleat Martyrdom indeed, to lay down our lives for Chriſt; when God will hedge up every way of eſcape againſt us with thornes, and leave us in *Peters* ſtreights, *To ſtretch forth our hands, and have another to gird us, and to lead us whither we would not. Iohn* 21.18. So that we ſhall leave occaſions, and opportunities enough, even as many as God himſelfe ever made, for the expreſſing of our love and faithfulneſſe unto Chriſt and his Goſpell in wayes of ſuffering, though we ſtand up like men, and quit our ſelves with all our might, and all our ſtrength, againſt thoſe aſſacinates, and ſworne Sword-men of the devill, who have conſpired the death and ruin of all that feareth God in the Land.

Only for a cloſe of all that I have to ſay in this point, let me adde this one thing by way of caution, that opportunities of ſuffering Martyrdome wil not alwayes continue in the Church for the ſervants of God: yea, the time draweth neare, when they ſhall ceaſe and be no more. The ſaid retinue of *the firſt things*, (as they are called Rev. 20.4.) which hath been a long time in paſſing by, even for many Generations, is now almoſt quite paſſed; God is now bringing up the reere of this hoſt of ſorrowes, and when this is paſſed, he wil turne the wheele of his providence and diſpenſations, betweene his own Church, and the Synagogue of Satan. That ſide which hath been down hitherto, ſhall be upward, and that which hath been above, ſhall be below: Now the devills ſaints, and the Chlidren of the Whore, even al *fearefull and unbelieving ones, and abominable, and murtherers, and Whoremongers, and Sorcerers, and all lyars*, they ſhall be called to their Martyrdome, and the Saints of the moſt high ſhall give them double, of their own cup. * *They that led into captivity* hitherto, *ſhall* now *goe into captivity* themſelves: *and they that killed with the ſword* hitherto, *ſhall* now *be killed with the ſword* themſelves. And who they are that ſhall now lead into captivity, and ſlay with the ſword, you may informe your ſelves, *Rev.* 18.6,7. *Reward her, even as ſhe hath rewarded you*: you, *viz.* in your Brethren, that have walked in the ſteps of the ſame faith and holineſſe with you: *And give her double, &c. This is the honour which the Saints ſhall have, to execute the judgement that is written, upon the Whore.*

* Revel. 13 or.

Another motive to ſtrengthen your hand the ſame way, may be to conſider, that as the cauſe recommended to you is every wayes juſtifiable, ſo is it a matter of the higheſt & deepeſt concernment unto you to ſtand by it and advance it to the utmoſt you are able, yea (if it were poſſible) above and beyond what you are able to do. All your intereſts relations and concernments in this world are bound up in it: yea, it narrowly concernes you in relation to the world which is to come, your everlaſting eſtate and condition is not lightly concerned in it. Firſt, what have you in this world amongſt al that which you call yours, any wayes deare or precious unto you, but that the line of this cauſe, whatſoever it proves, is like to be ſtretched

upon it: the cauſe which is now depending and pleading between you and your adverſaries, will certainly be either the riſing or falling of it.

1. For your Eſtates, theſe are already deſigned, by your enemies, for a reward and recompence of their labour and travell in procuring your ruin. Your ſilver, and gold, your Houſes, & lands, with all your precious and pleaſant things beſides, muſt call you Maſters no more, if you fall into the hands of theſe devourers. If they prevaile, they will be like a *ſweeping rain* (as *Soloman* ſpeakes) *that will leave no food.* You muſt look for no other *mercies* from them, but thoſe that *are cruell*; you heare daily from divers parts of the Land, of what ſpirit they are in this kind: what ſpoyle and rapin they make of the precious ſubſtance of your Brethren, where they have opportunity to fall; notwithſtanding they are not yet in a poſture to their minds, to follow this occupation of ruine and ſpoile, as they deſire and hope to doe. They have a bridle of ſome feare in the jawes of their fury, they cannot ſtay by their worke, they cannot gather in their harveſt ſo cleane as they deſire. But if they do theſe things being but yet in the valley, what wil they doe, if they ſhould make good the mountaine? if they commit ſuch inſolencies as theſe in the day of their feares, what will they doe in the day of their power, if ever this Sun ſhould ariſe upon them? I beſeech you conſider this, you that have lived at eaſe; and in all fulneſſe hitherto, and have wanted nothing of all that your hearts could deſire, to make your lives comfortable unto you; that have had food, and rayment, and lodging, and harbour, upon ſuch termes, that your fleſh it ſelfe, though apt enough to murmure and complaine, hath yet been aſhamed to complaine of any want or ſcarcity in any kind; tell me how, or what wil you do in ſuch a day, wherein your faire necks, that never had yoke upon them to this day, ſhall be wrung and galled, and torne with thoſe Iron yokes, of poverty, nakedneſſe, hunger, cold, contempt, want of al things? Will not the dayes and yeares of your former plenty and fulneſſe be ſeen upon you in abundance of ſorrow and extremity? And is it not in vaine for you to thinke that this cup ſhall paſſe by you, that you drinke not of it, if ever it be in the power of thoſe enemies of yours we ſpeake of, to make you to drinke? Doubtleſſe they muſt want of their will if you doe not drinke, yea and ſuck out the very dregs of it. Whereas on the contrary, if you ſhall onely this one time make good your ſtandings againſt them, and breake this enterpriſe, as far as humane reaſon is able to judge, and according to the ordinary courſe of Gods adminiſtration of things in the world, they are never like to riſe up againſt you, nor to endanger the peace of your outward enjoyments the ſecond time. If you will now be perſwaded to give out your ſelves like men, to advance the cauſe in hand, that which you doe is like to be a bulworke, and an impregnable defence for the time to come, to your poſſeſſions, and eſtates, againſt all violence and oppreſſion of men in this kind.

2. For your liberties, this is another precious poſſeſſion of yours in the world. I ſpeak here onely of your civill or politick liberty, which is of equall accommodation and deſirableneſſe (if not of ſuperiour) with your eſtates: and this likewiſe will certainly be oppreſſed and ſeized upon, and turned into a miſerable ſlavery and bondage, if that bloody generation ſhall carry the day againſt you, and make themſelves Lords over you. That of *Peter*, 2 *Pet.* 2.19. is like to come upon you in this caſe: *of whomſoever a man is overcome, of the ſame he is brought into bondage.* It may be you are not generally ſo apprehenſive and ſenſible of the pretiouſnes and ſweetneſſe of your liberties, as of your eſtates; you do not place ſo much of your outward comfort and contentment in the one, as in the other. The reaſon whereof I conceive to be partly becauſe we are generally born free, and therefore take no care or pains to come by it, whereas many are born poore, and to inherit little but what they can get by the ſweat of their browes: partly becauſe liberty is as plentiful amongſt us as ſilver was in *Salomons* daies;

which

which was therefore little esteemed because it was *as plentifull as the stones in the street, and as the wild Figtrees that grew abundantly in the plain*; there is none amongst us but is as free as another; but there is great difference in respect of estate; partly also, because we see few in any suffering or hard condition, we heare few cries or complaints for want of liberty, whereas we both heare and see daily what hardship and things grievous to flesh and blood, are endured by many, both men, women and children, for want of means, and an outward estate. Haply for these and other reasons that might be given, our liberties are not so high prised with us as matter of estate is; but if we did judge righteous judgement (as our Saviour speaks) or if we had but the sensible advantages and quicknings to raise our thoughts and apprehensions concerning our liberties, which we have in reference to our estates, and which many others in the world have, in reference to liberty it self; we would think our liberties every whit as worthy to be placed at our right hands, as our estates. I must not stand to discourse the benefit and sweetnesse of this blessing of liberty; concerning which, many great and excellent things might be spoken. I shal onely say this, that if we lived but a while in those States, where the poore subject is yoked with an Iron yoke of bondage, and bowes down the back, and groans under the heavy pressure of usurpation and tyranny, as under the great Turk, or in the State of *Persia*: yea or in *France* it self (which is neere at hand) and did but observe the miserable and hard termes and conditions, that by reason of such slavery and bondage they live under, then a dram of that liberty which yet we enjoy, would be as precious to us, as a drop of cold water would have been to the rich man in hell, when he was so grievously tormented in those flames. Now then this is that which I hold forth unto you in this motive to be considered of, that if ever you shall suffer the hand of the Malignant party, which is now up in rage, and great fury against you, to find their enterprise, if the day fals to be theirs, you must look to be dealt withall in your liberty, as in your estates; there will no partiality be shewn by these men between them, they that will not spare you in your estates, neither wil they favour you in your liberties, they have bands, and chains, and fetters already prepared for your hands and feet, and Irons that wil enter into your soules. You must know that they are animated and acted against you, with the spirit of that fourth beast in *Daniel, which was unlike unto all the others, very fearefull, whose teeth was of Iron, and his nailes of Brasse, which devoured, brake in pieces, and stampt the rest under his feet.* They are of a Lordly, insolent, domineering and tyranizing spirit, sporting themselves in their cruelties, and delighting to ride over the heads of men, that they can get under them. Therefore now consider (I beseech you) how intolerable and grievous a thing it is like to be unto you to beare the yoke of that cruell bondage and slavery which these men have prepared for your necks; to live by the lawes of their lusts and pleasures, to be at their arbitriments and wils in all things, to do and to suffer, to have and to possesse as they shall appoint and think meet for you; how intollerable a condition (I say) this is like to prove unto you, who have been free men and women all your daies, and have had the disposall of your selves and of all your waies, and of the good things that the providence of God hath cast in unto your labours or otherwise. Oh you will find the change very sharpe and terrible, beyond what I am able to expresse, or your selves for the present, able to apprehend. Whereas on the contrary, if you shall hold out this one impression and onset which they are now making upon you, and make good the ground you stand on against them; you shal break their cords in sunder, and cast their bands from you for ever; you shal make such an intailement of this precious inheritance we speak of, your liberty, to your children and childrens children, that they shall never be able to cut off. If they be but now broken, they are not like ever to make themselves whole againe. If

you

you will be perswaded to be men of wisdom once, you may be men of comfort and peace ever after.

3. For your wives and children, these (I make account) are another part of your precious injoyments in this world: But as for these, neither are they like to find any better quarter in their kind from these bags of blood and baseneſſe, then your liberties and estates in their kind. Nay as these are capable of the impressions of more of those vile affections which rage in these men, so are they like to suffer upon terms yet more grievous, even according to the utmost of their capacities in this kind: The rage of their lusts (I mean of many of them) is as barbarous and cruell, as the rage of their cruelty it self. And what measure you are to expect both in one and in the other, in lust and cruelty towards these, your wives (I mean) and children; themselves have proclaimed in your eares aloud in those patterns and examples of this kind, which in severall places of the Land, they have set for themselves to follow in their future course. I presume you have heard of divers insolencies and outrages of abomination committed by them with an high hand, such as have made both our eares to tingle in the hearing. Therefore consider and weigh it well with your selves: put your hearts upon deep and sad, and serious apprehensions of it, how grievous and heart-breaking and soul-cutting a sight it would be unto you to see the honour and chastity of your wives, and daughters plundered by the barbarous lusts of those brutish men, who are ready to poure out their abhominable filthineſſe and uncleanneſſe where-ever they become, and when they have done execution upon their honours, with the lust of uncleanneſſe in the Front, to bring up the lusts of cruelty in the Reare, to do the like execution upon their lives and blood. Assure your selves, that the devill hath the driving of them, and he will make them runne and keep his pace, as far as ever the strength of any vileneſſe and wickedneſſe in them wil hold out. And so for your little ones that are not for their lusts: it is much to be feared that in that respect, they will double their cruelties upon them, as you have heard (I presume) that their brethren in *Ireland*, baptised into the same spirit of blood and abomination with them, have done. Oh, how can you beare the thoughts of such a day likely to come upon you, wherein your yong children shall be taken by the hand of an inhumane monster, and dashed in pieces against the stones, or torn one limb from another, or tossed upon the point of the Pike or Speare? Assure your selves that the day of all these astonishing things, and perhaps of things more intollerable and astonishing then these, is like to come upon you, except you will be perswaded to redeem it, and buy it off, at the rate of your utmost endeavours, and of all you are able to do to prevent it, if God wil vouchsafe the grace and mercy to you, to let you have it at any rate.

4. That honorable Senate of both Houses of Parliament, consisting of most of the worthies of the Land, (I mean for men of their rank and quality) to whose unwearied labours and diligence, and faithfulneſſe, and zeale, and expence, under God, you and your whole Nation owe your lives and liberties, both spirituall and temporall, yea estates and all your sweet enjoyments hitherto; and in whose peace and preservation all you yet enjoy, as far as reason is able to discern and judge, is bound up; (so that I may well reckon these amongst your temporall enjoyments) these are like to perish and to be cut off by the right hand of iniquity, if that generation of men whose bloody cruelties you both have been heretofore, and are now again exhorted with all your might to oppose shal ever get the upper hand. We know it is this assembly, that have stood by you and stuck close to your liberties, and the truth and purity of that Religion you professe; that are the bulwark and defence against the furious impressions of those wicked ones upon you, and all that is yours; And they know as much too, and look upon them accordingly: they are they that have robbed these Beares of their whelps, that have shaken the foundation of Popery, Prelacy, and prophaneſſe in the Land; and that are at

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worke upon it night and day, to make it a Land of righteouſneſſe, which is an element that theſe kind of Creatures know not how to live in. And in this regard, theſe are the men of their rage and hatred above others; theſe are the mountaines that ſtand in their way; and what will they not do, what will they not ſuffer to remove them, or caſt them down, and make them into a plain? doubtleſſe they are ſick, and long for their blood, as much as ever *David* longed for the waters of the wel of *Bethleem*. And if they ſhal ever be but able to diſſolve the power and proceedings of this Parliament now ſitting, the way will be open and ready for them, either to ſtave off all Parliaments for the future, or (which is of more dangerous conſequence of the two) to make them themſelves: and ſo the Sun of the glory and peace of this Nation is like to ſet upon it for ever. Therefore now conſider (I beſeech you) of how lamentable and unſupportable a conſequence it would be, if this *Spring* ſhould be *troubled* (as *Salomons* compariſon is) if theſe righteous ſhal fall before theſe wicked ones; and Cavaleers Swords drink Senators blood: And how would it be a blot upon you, & make your memoriall an infamy and reproach throughout all generations, if it ſhould be ſaid, that you ſate ſtill and did nothing, but keep up your money, while theſe men periſhed at your ſide, who had been a guard and ſafety to you and to all that you had: yea, that laboured and travelled with the honour and ſafety of the whole Land, and were ready to cry out, and to have been delivered, but that in the very breaking forth of the children, your covetouſneſſe, and your unfaithfulneſſe, and remiſſeneſſe betrayed them into the hands of their enemies, who cruelly deſtroyed both parents and children at once. Not to *feed your enemie when he hungers, or when he is thirſty*, not to *give him drinke*, is by the Holy Ghoſt himſelf interpreted, to be a revenging your ſelves on him; and what all to be a matter of high diſpleaſure and offence unto God. I beſeech you, if not to ſave the life of an enemy when it is in danger, nay if not to ſupply ſuch neceſſities of his, which yet perhaps do not touch his life, be a ſin of that provocation in the ſight of God; What ſin wil that be, or by what name ſhal it be called, or what ſhal the meaſure of the provocation of it in the eyes of God be, when men ſhall ſuffer the greateſt and faithfulleſt friends they have, that for a long time together have laboured for them in the very fire night and day, in the very midſt of their ſore conflicts and ſtrivings with men, and that chiefly for their ſakes, to periſh by the hand of their enemies, when it was in their hand and power to relieve them? Surely men muſt create a new Name and God wil create a new puniſhment or hell for ſuch a ſin.

5. (And laſtly for matter of this worlds concernment) what do you think of your lives themſelves; if thoſe men of blood ſhall carry the day, and ever come to ſet up their banners amongſt you? Wil they not be ſold as cheap as Sparrows were among the Jewes, five for two farthings? Nay, wil they not be troden down and trampled upon like clay and mire in the ſtreets, by the foot of the pride, and rage, and inſolency of theſe men? Would not your fleſh be as a feaſt of fat things unto them, and your blood as new Wine? Or if they did ſpare your lives, would it not be only out of a deſire & intent to adde unto your miſeries, to gain opportunity of inflicting many deaths upon you? Perhaps they have learned a deliberate cruelty, from that bloody Emperour *Nero*: who when any perſon that was accuſed, and under the ſtroke and dint of his power, deſired of him that he might be diſpatched and put to death, was wont to make anſwer, *Non ita tecum in gratiam redii*: *i.* He was not yet ſo far friends with him, as to give him leave to die: he meant to have more ſatisfaction out of them, then ſo. So if theſe men give you your lives for a time, you muſt not looke to have them given you upon ſuch terms, as God ſometimes in common deſtructions gives his ſervants their lives: *viz. For a prey*, or *booty*: No, they wil be given you only as means or Engines wherewith to torment you. It may be they wil deſire to reſerve and keep you alive, to make ſpectators of you,

you, of all that bloody Tragedy they mean to act upon all that belongs to you, in ſetting your Houſes, and Cities on fire, in taking away your goods, in offering villany to your wives, & your daughters, and then mangling and maſſacring them when they have done. And then when they have throughly ſcourged you with ſuch Scorpions as theſe, it is like they wil deliver you into the hand of death. Certain it is, that the ſpirit that works in theſe curſed children of diſobedience which are now your adverſaries, luſts not onely to your temporal ruine and deſtruction, but to your everlaſting ruin and deſtruction alſo, as far as it knows how to be active in it. Our Saviour himſelf ſeems to imply as much, *Matth.* 10.28. where he commands us *not to feare thoſe that kill the body; but are not able to kill the ſoule:* as far as they are able to go in hatred and malice againſt the Saints, they do go, *they do kill the body* (ſaith our Saviour) He doth not ſay, feare not thoſe that can kill the body, but, which *do*, actually, frequently and from time to time, *kill the body, but are not able to kill the ſoule*; doubtleſſe intimating, that if they were able, they would kill body and ſoule, and all. And ſomewhat more plainly (I conceive) *Ioh.* 10. *And I give unto them eternall life, and they ſhall never periſh, neither ſhal any man pluck (or pull) them out of mine hand*; cleerely implying, that the devill and his inſtruments, wicked men, are ready to pull and tug hard to get even his elect themſelves out of his hands, out of that hand of election and grace, which he hath laid upon them, and whereby he holds them faſt. Thus the ſtory of the Martyrs report, that when the Popiſh Prelates, and Prieſts were ready to have execution done upon that faithfull ſervant of God *Iohn Huſſe*, they uſed theſe words, *Now we commit thy ſoule to the divell:* And when *Hierom* of *Prague*, through long and grievous impriſonment grew very ſick, and (as himſelf thought) neere unto death, deſired that he might have a confeſſor (being it ſeems, conſcientious this way) the ſtory ſaith, that very hardly, and with great importunity it could be obtained: which ſhews, that it was grief and torment to his enemies, that he ſhould have any thing, that in their opinion might be a means to ſave his ſoule, after he was dead; beſides many other like ſtreynes of the ſame ſpirit, which that ſtory preſents unto the diligent Reader. Now then, there being a ſpirit of this profound, deep, and divelliſh enmity againſt you, working in the bowels and inward parts of theſe men, to deſire not onely your temporall, but eternal death alſo, it is none other like, but if they ſuſpect and doubt of the ſtrength of their arme, for the ſending of you by death into Hell (as I make little queſtion but they do, they have no great hope of hunting your ſoules into the bottomleſſe pit, which is reſerved for their own) they wil themſelves create a hell for you, as full of torment and cruell burnings as they can make it, and caſt you into it themſelves before you die, and ſo be gotten out of their reach. So that there is nothing to be looked for from theſe men but death, or that which is worſe then death, a life to contribute towards the increaſe of the pains and ſorrows of your death: and ſo indeed death howſoever. Therefore I beſeech you conſider the weight of this branch of the preſent motive alſo. Will you thinke of keeping or ſaving your eſtates, to the loſſe or imminent danger of your lives? Shal you not keep your money to make a goodly purchaſe, if you bring all theſe great evils and miſeries upon you thereby? Though in many other caſes you might make much gain and advantage by making the devil a lier, yet it wil be your wiſdome, to juſtifie him in that his ſaying; *skin for skin* (or rather skin after skin, or, skin upon skin) *and all that a man hath will he give for his life*, If you have ſo much of men in you, (as Sathan your enemy ſuppoſeth (it ſeems) that you have) to value your lives at any ſuch rate above all your poſſeſſions whatſoever, ſhew it this day, and make a fortification and bulwarke of all that you have for their defence and ſafety; *Salomon* (we know) made ſome hundreds of Targets, and Shields of Gold, it ſhould not be grievous to any man to ſacrifice his eſtate, his Gold and Silver upon the ſervice of his life. There is a time to keep (ſaith *Solo-*

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mony) and a time to ſpend, or to caſt away, *Eccleſ.* 3. 6. Certainely of all other, that is no time to keep, when a mans life lies at the ſtake, and is in all likelihood not to be redeemed but by caſting away. Thus much for your temporall and outward injoyments, they are all involved and concerned to the uttermoſt, in the preſent occaſion and ſervice, which you have been exhorted, to promote and further with all your ſtrength, and all your power.

But ſecondly, it were wel (at leaſt it were leſſe to be laid to heart, it were a matter of far lighter moment and importance) if your outward concernments onely, though it were even to life it ſelfe, were imported in that great occaſion, which is now on foot, and hath been again and again recommended unto you; but behold greater things then theſe. Your ſpiritual concernments alſo, are like to ſuffer, and that in very high degree, if *Gog* and *Magog* prevaile, if ever you come to be at the allowance of Cavaliers, Papiſts, and Athieſts, that have taken the field againſt you, for the things of Heaven. You are like to have ſtones inſtead of bread, and Scorpions in ſtead of Fiſh. Thoſe golden Pipes, by which Heaven and Earth are (as it were) joyned together, and have lively communion each with other; I mean your pure ordinances of worſhip, which have both the wiſdome, and grace and goodneſſe of God abundantly in their frame, wil be cut off, and others of Lead laid in their ſtead; ordinances I mean of an humane conſtitution and frame, whoſe chiefe ſubſtance, or ingredients wil be the wiſdome and wil, *i.e.* the folly and corrupt affections of men by which, not Heaven, but Hell, and the World will be joyned together, and the trade and traffique between both places, much quickned and advanced, ordinances which wil be ready to be caſt as dung into your faces by God, when you have been excerciſed in them. You muſt never look to ſee the goings of God in the Sanctuary, as you have done, to ſee any more viſions of life and immortality let down from Heaven unto you, in theſe houſes of viſion: thoſe excellent raviſhments and raptures of ſpirit, thoſe taking up into the third Heaven by ſeeing him that was greater then *Salomon* in all his glory, wil ceaſe from you. Thoſe pure ſtreams of the Goſpel wil be all bemired and foyled, when they are given unto you to drink: Yea happily and poyſoned too, by the influence of the corrupt minds and judgements of thoſe that ſhal give them unto you. You muſt looke to have the Goſpel turned upſide down, and to be made to ſtand in perfect conjunction with Hell, which looſeneſſe, wickedneſſe, and prophaneneſſe, and in oppoſition to Heaven, Grace and Holineſſe; to be made a Savour of death to thoſe that ſhal be ſaved; and a Savour of life to thoſe that ſhal periſh. It wil be made to frown upon thoſe that are godly, and to look cheerfully and comfortably upon looſe men. So that if your ſoule ſhal luſt for theſe Summer fruits, if you ſhal deſire to have communion with God, in communion and fellowſhip with his Saints, If you ſhall deſire at any time to be rained upon by a ſhower of life and peace from Heaven, you muſt repaire again to the woods and mountaines, or to the covert of ſome cloſe and ſecret place, where you muſt eate the bread of your ſoules in peril of your lives; as your forefathers did in Queen *Maries* daies, on with danger of ſuffering whatever the malice and revengeful ſpirit of your enemies ſhal think good or can deviſe to inflict upon you.

Therefore now conſider, you that have had the liberty of your Sanctuaries, and of your publique aſſemblies, that have been *fed with honey out of the Rocke, and with the fineſt Wheat* of Heaven, you that have had an open and free trade to Heaven, and have had glorious returnes from them day after day, to whom the Miniſtery of the Goſpel, hath been as the wings of the morning, as Chariots of fire to carry you up and down as it were in ſpirituall ſtate and triumph between Heaven and earth; Oh how wil that day be as the ſhaddow of death unto you, wherein you muſt exchange your Quailes and Manna from Heaven, for the Garlike and

Onyons of *Egypt*, when you shal heare the Pope and his Hierarchy preached up to the Heavens, and Jesus Christ with his Saints preached down to the Earth, and made to sit at their footstoole, when your soules and consciences shal be compassed about with lies and errors and the Commandements of men, in the Ministery of the word, in stead of those spiritual and glorious truths, which were wont to be as so many Angels sent from the presence of God to comfort you; doubtlesse if ever you *saw the Heavens opened* over your heads by an effectual and sound Ministery, and *Iesus Christ standing at the right hand of God in glory*, as *Stephen* did, if ever you smel the savor of life by Jesus Christ preached; the day wherein such a Ministery shal be taken from you, wil be like the day wherein the Sun shal be covered with Sack-cloath, and the Moon turned into blood, and the Stars in the Firmament of Heaven lose their light. The change wil be every whit as sad unto you, as that was unto *David* when he was driven from the Sanctuary and presence of God, and *compelled to dwel in Mesech, and make his habitation in the Tents of Kedar.* If this exchange made him cry out, *wo is me:* you must think it wil be a double wo unto you, when the *Arke of God* shal be taken from you, and *Dagon* set up in its stead, when the dispensations and administrations of Heaven, which were spirit and life, the light of Gods countenance it self unto you, shal be exchanged for the statutes and ordinances of *Rome*, which are like tombs and *sepulchers*, having nothing in them but rottennesse and dead mens bones. If such a day were now upon you, what would you give buy it off? and is not the purchase of the prevention of it worth as much?

It may be there are some amongst you whose soules and consciences were never yet engaged, either by the purity or power of any of the ordinances of God: who never yet knew what it was to be kindly touched from Heaven by any spirituall administration; to such as these it is like *Dagon* may be as good as the Ark; the devices and inventions of men, as beautiful, as savory, in the house and worship of God, as those ordinances themselves which have the perfect image and superscription of God upon them; a ministery that is low and cold, and set in consort with the earth, and the things thereof; as that which is calculated for the Meridian of heaven, and breathes life and immortality in the faces of mens soules continually. If such as these lend but a dul or deaf eare to the motion, cannot find so much as two mites in their estates to cast into the treasury of God, it is not much to be marvelled at. But for you that know how little the chaffe is to the wheat; I beseech you to have this sense of the businesse recommended to you, that when you have done the utmost of what you are able to doe for the advancement of it, you would yet unfainedly desire to do more.

Thirdly, to engage you yet further to give out your selves fully and freely as you have been exhorted, you may please to consider, that as all your precious interests, whether in the things of this life, or of that which is to come, are deeply concerned in it, so are all the like interests of all your brethren, the godly persons in the land concerned likewise. And if the cause should suffer or miscarry, it would be as a sword that would passe through all the righteous soules throughout the land; it would bring such a day of sorrow, lamentation, and woe upon the generation of the servants of God throughout the Kingdome, as scarce hath beene heard of in all ages: it will cause all their hands to hang down, and their knees to wax feeble, & their hearts to wither as the grasse; it will fil all their eyes with teares, & their hearts with heavinesse, there will be no end of those great evills and miseries which will come upon the in that day. The breach that wil be made upon them wil be like the great breaches of the Sea which cannot be repaired. It was a night of much sadnes to the land of *Egypt*, when God slew in everie house one throughout the whole Land: the Text saith, *There was a grievous cry throughout the whole land of Egypt upon it*: But this cup was given to the Egyptians to drink: And yet this stroke fell not so sore upon them neither, as the miscarriage of that great action

we speak of, would doe upon the Israell of God amongst us. That did but touch the Egyptians in the lives of one in every Family respectively: but the stroke which is now lifted up, & likely to be given in the land, wherever it light, should it fall upon the right hand upon the people of God, it wound them all and that very sore, yea and that not in some, but in all their concernments and injoyments whatsoever, aswell in those which relate to this world present as in those whose accommodations are more peculiarly for that world which is yet to come (as hath been shewed already) if ever that mountain of prophanesse, which now you are exhorted to put your shoulders to remove, shall be established, doubtlesse it will magnifie it selfe against all that is called holy in the Land; it will lie heavie and oppresse, if not overwhelm and bury under it, all that have the mark of the living God upon them. Therefore I beseech you consider what you doe: If this great evil shall come upon the Church and people of God amongst you, and you be found dull and heavie, negligent and remisse in the preventing of it, and not improve your selves to the utmost that way, when as it hath been so fully and feelingly, and frequently both represented and recommendedd unto you, shall you not bring the guilt of it all upon your heads? Shall you not be looked upon both by God and men, as accessaries (if not principalls) in all those sore afflictions and calamities, which in this case shall fall upon them? will not God require their sorrowes, and their tears, and their troubles and their afflictions, and all the extremity they shall endure at your hands? *When I shall say vnto the wicked* (saith the Lord to his Prophet *Ezekiel*) *Oh wicked man thou shalt die the death, if thou dost not speak and admonish the wicked of his way, that wicked man shall die for his iniquity but his bloud will I require at thine hand, Ezek.* 33. If God will require the bloud of a wicked man at the hand of his Prophet in case he did not seek to prevent it by admonishing him: will he no much more require the sorrowes, sighings, troubles, teares, extremities, bloud of a whole nation of Saints, at the hands of those, by whose unfaithfulnesse, coldnesse, covetousnesse, negligence in any kind, they shall come upon them. *The son of man* (saith our Saviour) *goeth his way as it written of him; but woe be to that man by whom the Son of man is betrayed: it had beene good for that man if that he had never been born*: In like manner the Church and people of God amongst us may yet suffer grievous things, but woe be to those, whomsoever they be, be they fewer, be they more, be they rich be they poore, by whom their peace and safety shall be betrayed. Matt. 26. 24.

Fourthly (and lastly) all our own concernments and the concernments of all our deare brethren in the faith throughout the Land, are bound up in the businesse, which hath beene so frequently and affectionately recommended unto you; so are the like concernments of others of our brethren also, partakers of like precious faith with you, in other Lands and Kingdoms bound up likewise herein; though not all (perhaps) in the same degree. There is a common report of a strange Sympathie between Hypocrate's twins, that they alwaies cried together, and laughed together. And doubtlesse there is some such sympathie between all the reformed Churches (as we call them) in these parts of the world: amongst which likewise I comprehend those plantations of our Brethren of this Land, in *America*, and other Western parts, at least between all that are trulie faithfull and sound in that profession which they make in these Churches. I doe not speak here of that inward or spirituall sympathie, which in respect of reciprocall affections and mutual tenderneſse intercedes between all the true and living members of the mysticall body of Christ, though never so remote asunder, but of that mutuall dependencie which the outward affairs and condition of everie one hath, upon the condition of the other, so that the prosperity and well established peace of any one, hath an influence into, and contributes more or lesse towards the like establishment of the other: As on the contrary, the shaking, trouble, ruine, or destruction of any one weakens the strength.

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and impaires more or leſſe the ſecurity of all the other So that they muſt needs all weep together, and all laugh together. Now then, this is that which I ſay, and hold forth to your Chriſtian and godly conſiderations in this motive; that the action wherein the church and people of God in the Land are now ingaged, and which is yet depending between them and their adverſaries will in the iſſue, cloſe, and fall of it, be of very remarkable concernment to all the Saints of God in all thoſe other churches mentioned; if it falls on the right hand, it wil be the riches ſtrength, and increaſe of them; if on the left, it will be the diminiſhing, ſhaking, and impairing of them, therefore conſider I beſeech you the great weight and importance of the opportunity that is before you, if through your zeal and forwardneſſe, and faithfullneſſe to advance it, and the bleſſing of God upon it, your preſent ſervice ſhall proſper, your light will be like the *lightning which* as our (Saviour ſaith) *ſhineth from the Eaſt even unto the Weſt* the heat and warmth, and living influence thereof, ſhall pierce through many kingdomes great and large, as *France, Germany, Bohemia, Hungaria, Polonia, Denmark, Sweden*, with many others, and find out all the children of God, and all that are friends to the Kingdome of Heaven, and will be a cheering and refreſhing to them: Eſpecially to your brethren in their ſeverall plantations in farre countreyes; and moſt of all to thoſe in theſe united and neere kingdomes, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, it will be as a feaſt of fat things, and of wines well refined: and particularly to poor bleeding dying *Ireland*, it will be as a reſurrection from death unto life. Now then in as much as God hath ſet you this day, as the Sunne in the firmament of Heaven, from whence he hath an opportunitie and advantage to ſend forth his beames, and to furniſh and fill the world with his light and influence round about him; ſince you have the commodiouſnes of ſuch a ſtanding, that you may do good to all that is Gods, I mean to all the Saints in all their diſperſions and quarters throughout ſo many kingdomes, and ſuch a conſiderable part of the world as hath been mentioned, ſo that you may cauſe them to riſe up before you and call you bleſſed; I beſeech you doe not betray this firſt borne opportuntity of Heaven: look upon it as a great and ſolemne invitation from God himſelf unto you, to do greater things for the world, at leaſt for the Chriſtian world, then ever you did unto this day; or then ever you are like to doe the ſecond time, yea then any particular Chriſtian State ever did, or is like to doe while the world ſtands. God hath prepared and fitted a Table for you large enough, if you will but ſpread and furniſh it, with ſuch proviſions as are under your hand, that you may feaſt, and give royall entertainment, to the whole houſhold of faith, almoſt throughout the whole world at once. And ſhall it now ſeem any great thing in our ages, or be in the leaſt meaſure grievous unto any man or woman of you, even to laviſh his gold out of bagges, to beſtow his whole ſubſtance to deveſt himſelf of all he poſſeſſeth in this world, even to his ſhooe Latchet, to furniſh and ſet out ſuch an occaſion as this is, like it ſelf? Shall not the very conſcience and comfortable remembrance of ſuch a thing as this done with uprightneſſe and ſimplicity of heart by you be a thouſand times better then any ſuperfluities of Silver or of gold, or of meats, or of drinks, or of houſes, or of jewells, or of aparrell, whatſoever? Nay: if we ſhall bring povertie, and nakednеſſe and hunger and thirſt upon our ſelves, to purchaſe and procure it, will it not be better then an eſtate, then cloathing? then meat and drinks to us? will it not take out the burning, and alay the bitterneſſe of all theſe? Doubtleſſe the honour and conſcience of the fact, will beare all the charges, and anſwer all the expence of it to the full. The opportunity and occaſion is ſo rich and glorious, that it calls to remembrance (as ſometimes the ſhadow doth the ſubſtance) the great opportunity that was before the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, for the ſalvation of the world: We know that he *being rich* became poore: that the world through him might be made rich. You have the pattern in the mount before you: See that according to your line and meaſure you make all things like to it.

FINIS.